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ABSTRACT

This book is intended for both beginning and experienced teachers who face many difficult challenges in today's desegregated school. Teachers must come to feel and recognize the many contingencies of the desegregated classroom if it is to be a place for learning. Because social class segregates children as often as does race, the major question posed in this book is how teachers can integrate into one classroom children of different races and socioeconomic backgrounds. The how-to-do-it sections of this book are intended to help prospective teachers apply new information, sensitivity, and insight to specific day-by-day situations. The situations range widely from first-day welcome to absenteeism. Issues directly relating to these situations also are discussed: from the nature and applicability of discipline to the appropriateness of curriculum. In addition to day-to-day expertise, teachers need a global perspective on integration if the nature of pluralism is to be understood and if integration is to work in the classroom. In a sense the international racism that obstructs world peace and the problems that face teachers in pluralistic classrooms are based on the same issues. For this reason the appendixes include one United Nations document, two UNESCO articles, and a brief excerpt from Pearl S. Buck's autobiography. The bibliography lists many materials and resource organizations teachers can use to sharpen their awareness. (Author/JM)

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The Teacher and Integration

REVISED EDITION

Gertrude Noar

National Education Association
Washington, D.C.

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Letter to a Teacher

You won't remember me or my name. You have flunked so many of us.

On the other hand I have often had thoughts about you, and the other teachers, and about that institution which you call "school" and about the kids that you flunk.

You flunk us right out into the fields and factories and there you forget us.

Two years ago, when I was in first *magistrale*,* you used to make me feel shy.

As a matter of fact, shyness has been with me all my life. As a little boy I used to keep my eyes on the ground. I would creep along the walls in order not to be seen.

At first I thought it was some kind of sickness of mine or maybe of my family. My mother is the kind that gets timid in front of a telegram form. My father listens and notices, but is not a talker.

Later on I thought shyness was a disease of mountain people. The farmers on the flat lands seemed surer of themselves. To say nothing of the workers in town.

Now I have observed that the workers let "daddy's boys" grab all the jobs with responsibility in the political machines, and all the seats in Parliament.

So they too are like us. And the shyness of the poor is an older mystery. I myself, in the midst of it, can't explain it. Perhaps it is neither a form of cowardice nor of heroism. It may just be lack of arrogance.

During the five elementary grades the State offered me a second-rate schooling. Five classes in one room. A fifth of the schooling that was due me.

It is the same system used in America to create the differences between blacks and whites. Right from the start a poorer school for the poor.

After the five Elementary grades I had the right to three more years of schooling. In fact, the Constitution says that I had the obligation to go. But there was not yet an intermediate school** in Vicchio. To go to Borgo was an undertaking. The few who had tried it had spent a pile of money and then were flunked out like dogs.

In any case, the teacher had told my folks that it was better not to waste money on me: "Send him into the fields. He is not made for books."

• • • •

Children born to others do appear stupid at times. Never our own. When we live close to them we realize that they are not stupid. Nor are they lazy. Or, at least, we feel that it might be a question of time, that they may snap out of it, that we must find a remedy.

Then, it is more honest to say that all children are born equal; if, later, they are not equal it is our fault and we have to find the remedy.

* *magistrale*: a four-year high school leading to a diploma for elementary school teachers [Translators' note].

** The intermediate school (*media inferiore*) covers the sixth, seventh and eighth grades [Translators' note].

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Introduction

This book is intended for both beginning and experienced teachers who face many difficult challenges in today's desegregated school. Teachers must come to feel and recognize the many contingencies of the desegregated classroom if it is to be a place for learning. Because social class segregates children as often as does race, the major question posed in this book is how teachers can integrate into one classroom children of different races and socioeconomic backgrounds. Integration, if properly understood, will improve the general quality and scope of education.

In their zeal to make their classrooms cohesive units, teachers should not strive for a sameness—promoting middle class values at the expense of the other cultural values that children bring to school. Teachers who are middle class might easily be ignorant of non-middle class values. Each child, if encouraged, can contribute uniquely to a classroom situation regardless of social class and whether she/he be Asian, Black, First American, Spanish-speaking, or White. Pluralism in the classroom does not mean lack of discipline any more than a homogeneous class ensures order and discipline. Rather, the teacher's expertise in class largely decides whether children benefit from one another. The teacher's responsibility to children is crucial. It is what this book is all about.

Teachers know about the city slums, the barrio, the rural South, Appalachia, and Indian reservations. But for most of them, their experience has been limited to riding through these areas. Now when they face the necessity of teaching nonmiddle class children and of dealing with their parents, many feel more or less panic stricken. They say, "I don't know how to relate to them. How can I teach them?"

Teachers, like all people, have prejudices. A negative prejudice is a complex of attitudes which predisposes a person to accept a set of generalizations embodied in a stereotype as characteristic of a whole group of people. The stereotype of some groups is full of negative traits, and every person in these groups is prejudged accordingly. Many teachers do not know individuals in various groups that are different from their own. They are likely to view unfamiliar children stereotypically and expect to have all sorts of difficulties with them in the classroom. Unfortunately, these expectations often reinforce the probability of their occurring. To create a productive classroom, teachers must consciously try to look on each child without relying on preconceived judgments.

Segregation in every aspect of American life and the deep racist strain in our society have prevented many students from coming to know people of all social and racial backgrounds. And teacher preparation has not generally provided the necessary information and insight through the usual courses in sociology, anthropology, and intergroup relations. Nor have education curriculums included enough actual intergroup experiences with children of different socioeconomic, racial, and ethnic groups to make the graduate feel comfortable about teaching in nonsegregated schools.

The how-to-do-it sections of this book are intended to help prospective teachers apply new information, sensitivity, and insight to specific day-by-day situations. The situations range widely from first-day welcome to absenteeism. Issues directly relating to these situations also are discussed: from the nature and applicability of discipline to the appropriateness of curriculum. While writing about them I kept in mind the cry of many a young teacher: "Why didn't someone tell me?" The stories I have used are true. Most are things I actually saw or heard in a classroom. They illustrate what not to do, what hurts human feelings, what blocks learning by creating anxiety or fear or anger, and what confirms feelings of inferiority or supports negative prejudice and rejection. Most of the teachers in these stories were not aware of the import of their words and actions. When I have told the stories to other teachers, they have served to create awareness and deepen sensitivity.

In addition to day-to-day expertise, teachers need a global perspective on integration if the nature of pluralism is to be understood and if integration is to work in the classroom. Human relations in the classroom like world peace and communication among peoples offer similar problems and have similar solutions. In a sense the international racism that obstructs world peace and the problems that face teachers in pluralistic classrooms are based on the same issues. For

this reason the Appendixes include one United Nations document "Declaration of the Rights of the Child," and two UNESCO articles: *Statement on Race and Racial Prejudice* and *Social Aspects of the Race Question*. They are a valuable complement to this book, which focuses on daily teaching realities, and a good reminder to teachers that they are members of a world profession. In contrast the brief excerpt from Pearl S. Buck's autobiography, *My Several Worlds*, gives an immediate and personal perspective on the global issue of race. The Bibliography following the Appendix lists many materials and resource organizations teachers can use to sharpen their awareness.

The objective of the entire book is to help teachers move from desegregation to integration. Desegregation is merely placing children together. Integration cannot be defined as simply. To my mind, it is the state of being in which people of all races and classes accept themselves and one another, recognize the value of their differences, and know the contribution different groups have made to the common good. People can move toward integration when they realize that they have prejudices and are willing to subject their prejudgments and stereotypes to reality testing. School integration exists when teachers and pupils exercise their own civil and human rights, privileges, and responsibilities and demand that all others be allowed their rights and privileges as well. Especially in school, integration means that high value be placed on the individual and that all strive for the full development of every child's unknown potential.

This book presents a specific, positive point of view with respect to race, race relations, and integration in education. It does not temporize with the moral issue, nor does it make any pretense of presenting both sides of matters that some people may regard as controversial. The contributors to this book hope that the teachers for whom this book is written and to whom it is dedicated will find in it enough information and insight to enable them to make firm commitments to the democratic education of all children.

To successfully integrate diverse children, the teacher must learn to understand all the students in the classroom, including the minority. The minority student referred to throughout this book is the child who happens to belong to a minority group in a given classroom. The minority child obviously can be of any race and economic background. *The Teacher and Integration* should give teachers a better general understanding of the desegregated classroom and increase teachers sensitivity to all.

Gertrude Noar

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Welcome to Our Classroom

The classroom was crowded and noisy, irksome with the smell of small children not too well washed. Joyce Brown, the teacher, was harried in her efforts to get things going. Suddenly the door was pulled open by the office secretary, and a small dark boy was pushed into the room. To be heard above the noise, the secretary yelled, "Here's a new one for you!" and the door slammed shut.

Joyce Brown took one look and, loudly enough to be heard by all, burst out in a voice filled with frustration, "Oh, no! No! Not another!" Then catching hold of his shoulder, she pushed the boy against the front chalkboard, saying, "Well, stand there till I decide where to put you." He stood there, terrified and forgotten until, when all the rest had later gone out to play, she saw him again, as if for the first time.

A new building, harsh voices, impatient questioning, long waiting in the office for his turn to be registered by alien adult, a sea of children's faces—all different from his, it seemed—an unwelcoming teacher, a long time to stand alone, and no one to call him by his name. What a way to begin life as part of the mainstream of America's school system. What feelings of guilt will nag the teacher when, reviewing her day, she tries to get to sleep on the night of her first day in a desegregated school? What can she ever do to achieve integration in her classroom? Try not to let that happen to you when you go to teach in any one of the desegregated schools that are increasing in numbers in the city, suburban, and rural school districts across the nation. Be ready to receive all newcomers.

Perhaps the first thing to do is to understand and accept the fact that new children must be placed in a classroom no matter how many others are already there. They have a legal and moral right to be there. They personally are not to blame if they weren't at school

when the bell rang to begin the day. So you, the teacher, must welcome them all, and they must know that you do. If the children are little, take them by the hand; if they are older, extend your hand for a warm, reassuring handshake. If the secretary fails to tell you a child's name, ask her or him and then introduce the child to the class. Your tone of voice, inflection, the words you use, the quality of your smile, your gesture, and the warmth of your hand tell children whether or not you accept them. The other children in the room will sense your feelings and imitate you.

Even in a crowded classroom, the minority newcomer, like any other child, must have a place to sit and work. The child should not be placed alone, up front at the table nor be given the last seat in the last row—a place which connotes rejection or failure in the minds of many pupils. If the newcomer comes on any other than the first day, you might suggest that someone in the group be a companion to her/him throughout the day, going with the newcomer to the play area and the lunchroom.

It is difficult for any child to adjust to a new classroom situation, but the difficulties are seriously compounded when the child is in a racial minority in that classroom. Minority-group roles will be assumed by whatever race is in minority, including Whites, as any child will experience stress when in a minority. Feelings of insecurity are intensified when integration is new to a community and not accepted at large but rather court-ordered. Teachers have a professional and humane obligation to help these minority children who are carrying an emotional burden no society should ask of its youngest members. During the 1970's integrated classrooms will increase in numbers and in many areas will be the rule, not the exception. Through constructive planning, teachers have the opportunity to develop the integrated classroom into an enriching, pluralistic learning situation. A strong welcome from the teacher is the beginning.

Where Shall Everyone Sit?

The visitor who had come to see how "desegregation" was working was seated in the back of the room. She had located two Black children (both boys) in the group of 25 fifth graders. The teacher, who was White, had come back to sit beside her, ready to answer questions. The visitor began with, "How do you arrange the seating, Mr. Green?"

"Oh," he said, "I let them sit where they want to." Then he became aware that the last boy in the middle row, directly in front of him, was Black. He began to tap him on the back with his pencil, saying, "Now this one just came, so I took a girl out of here, who needed help, and brought her near my desk. That left this place for him." Then looking around the room, Mr. Green saw that the other Black boy in his class was the last child in the last row. Turning to his visitor, Mr. Green said, "Now this one is there because he tends to the windows." (The visitor had earlier seen a White boy tending to the windows.) What is wrong here?

Mr. Green failed to refer to Black children by name. He said "this one" and "that one." He tapped a child on the back and talked about him as if he had no sense of touch and did not hear. The visitor had an uncomfortable feeling that to Mr. Green these two boys were not quite human. Mr. Green seemed not to know that a newcomer, especially one in a racial minority, would probably need help and might very well be grateful for the security that comes from sitting near the teacher's desk.

Teachers use many ways of arranging children in the classroom. What you do will depend upon the furniture, the procedures established in the school, and the command you have of yourself and your class. In desegregated schools, it is essential that the method you choose not segregate the children. Perhaps the wisest way to begin

the year is to seat the pupils in alphabetical order, explaining to the children that the arrangement will help you learn their names. You may see at once that a small child in the back is hidden by a large one, and that his seat needs to be changed at once for that reason. Another child who tells you, or whose medical record shows, that she has hearing or vision defects may need to be placed near the front of the room.

When you know the children, you may want to vary the seating patterns from time to time. Sometimes you can let the pupils decide where they want to sit—up front, in the middle, at the back, near the windows, near the boards. You must make sure that this is not done in terms of whom to sit beside, lest the minority children become either arbitrarily isolated or arbitrarily sought-after.

When you rearrange for small group work, be sure the children are mixed. If chairs are arranged in circles for some activities, be sure there is room for all and that none are crowded out. If you teach little children, when they sit on the floor around you to hear a story or to sing, be sure that some are not out on the fringes. As often as possible at least one minority child should be placed close to you.

Sometimes in newly desegregated schools, a White child (usually at her/his parents' insistence) will refuse to sit next to a Black child. If the seating is alphabetical, you can say, "That is where you belong and everyone else is where she or he belongs." In cases involving several students, no changes should be forced until the children have lost their feelings of difference. Should only one child disturb the group with continued refusal to remain in the assigned place for this same reason, let that child sit alone, apart from the group, until ready to return to the assigned seat. Usually children hate isolation and will conform in order to be back in the group.

It is wise to question the idea that members of one race like to be with their own. It is true that any person feels more secure near her/his friends. However, there is no reason to suppose that similarity in skin color means that children know or like one another or want to associate with only one another to the exclusion of all others.

Moreover integration requires you to use every means at your disposal to give your pupils experience across race lines so that racial difference ceases to be a reason for rejection. Seating helps. Among the arrangements to be avoided are segregation by rows or by sides of the room. Segregation in the classroom should be avoided not only by race but also by sex. A child's self-image can be equally distorted when the girls are grouped and treated differently from the boys. Careful arranging of classroom seating is the first step toward bringing a class together for learning.

Of Course I Like All My Students

Do you? Then be sure your children know it. Communicate acceptance. The most basic need that every human being has throughout life is to be accepted for herself/himself alone, regardless of what makes that person different from others. Integration poses a special challenge for teachers who must assure their minority children that they are wanted and needed, that they are liked and respected, and that they belong.

In order to achieve integration you must understand the racial experience of rejection—what it does to one's self-image, how it can prevent a person from achieving a warm relationship with you and block individual efforts to establish a place in a peer group. You also have to root out from the depths of your own mind and heart all vestiges of racism and replace the myth of racial superiority with the fact that, as far as potentiality is concerned, all races are equal. Only then will you be able to communicate to children that you, as teacher, do sincerely accept them and intend that in your classroom they shall have equal opportunity to be and become. The pupils in your room will watch your behavior closely to see whether your deeds match your words. Most of them will follow your lead, especially if they like you and accept you as a role model.

You communicate acceptance to pupils racially or socioeconomically different from yourself by what you say and how you say it: your tone of voice and inflection, your facial expression, your gestures, and your quality of contact when you touch them. A classroom incident showed one White teacher how especially sensitive her children were to the nonverbal means of communication she unconsciously used. Several Black children lingered by Ms. Carpenter's desk at the close of the afternoon session. After chatting with them about the project under way, she said, "You children think I don't like you, don't you?"

She had hoped they would say no, but one answered, "Yes, that's right."

"What makes you think so?" the teacher asked.

A second child said, "Because when you touch us, you shiver!"

See how nonverbal communication figures in the following story. A group of Black teenagers were talking to the social worker assigned to visit their homes. "We aren't doing too well," said Sandra.

"Why not?" the social worker asked.

"You see," said Jean, the White teachers pass us by too quickly. They ask a question, then shrug their shoulders or raise their eyebrows. And we know they think we are stupid, so we just sit down."

Then Mike spoke up. "I was absent for a week. When I got back I stopped at Mr. Roberts' desk to ask what I should do. His face got red, he banged on the desk, shook his finger at me, and yelled, 'Don't bother me now. I have more important things to do than tend to you!' I just turned on my heel and walked out again."

Every teacher must have a way of taking care of returning absentees regardless of the cause of absence. A good plan will also promote integration. For example, have all able children take turns being class secretary for the week. Then when a child returns after an absence, you can say, "Go sit with Edward. He has the class log (or diary) and will tell you what we did while you were gone." Perhaps, if you had kept the absentee in mind, you could add, "We formed committees last week and saved a place for you in Marie's group, so go to her to find out what her group is planning to do. If you find that isn't what you want to do, talk it over with me."

In that way you not only tell the child that she/he was worth remembering, but you also give her/him the same opportunity to participate in decision making that the other pupils had. All too often children stay away from school because they feel their ability is not recognized, and never will be, on account of the teacher's bigotry. Children who know they are accepted and have equal status in the classroom do not usually want to drop out.

When speaking of their Black students, non-Black teachers in newly desegregated schools sometimes say "They would be happier in their own school. They aren't happy here." Any unhappy child, whether lonely or not, will have learning difficulty. The teacher, responsible for removing whatever blocks learning, should try to discover the causes of a child's unhappiness. Children are happy in school when they know they belong and are accepted and wanted in the classroom and that they will be rewarded when they succeed.

What Do My Words Say?

Many color words in the English language arouse emotions because they have value undertones which children have internalized. Teachers often are not aware of this and will inadvertently alienate and frustrate their pupils. *Black, brown, yellow, red,* and *white* are among the words to watch, as the following incidents show:

- The third-grade class was busy with brushes and paints. Mr. Jones was moving around the room giving suggestions and showing the children how to mix colors. He came to Johnny and in passing said, "Don't use black, Johnny. It's so ugly." Johnny was a very dark-skinned child.

- Christmas was only a week away and the children were busy making decorations. Some had cut out stenciled angels and were coloring them. Brown-skinned Bill finished his first and proudly took it to the teacher to hang on the tree. "Oh, no!" said Ms. Bacon. "I can't use that one, Bill. Angels are white. Do another."

- Ms. Martin, with sudden insight and some horror at her own lack of awareness, said, "My goodness, I've been using colors to grade my children's papers. I used a black crayon for the lowest color a youngster could get."

- Mr. Peters had a similar insight into his language. When his class was noisy and the children running around, he caught himself saying that they were behaving like "wild Indians."

- Mr. Conrad's class was reading in a group. At an important part of the story, a leading character tells a "little white lie" to avoid being indiscreet. Several of the Black and Chicano children had a hard time understanding this part of the story and, consequently, did poorly on an oral quiz. Later that day, Mr. Conrad complained to

some fellow teachers about his difficulties in teaching "non-White" children to read.

- Several Asian children in the seventh grade were so upset, they couldn't keep track of the class's history discussion. Ms. Hendrick, the teacher, had entitled the lesson, "The American Revolution and Benedict Arnold's Yellow Stain of Treason."

- "Sally, if you don't stop that now," said Ms. McKay, "I'll put you on my blacklist."

"Hey, Ms. McKay," called Sally, "what can I do to get on your white list?"

Some of the above stories tell how easy it is to violate a child's sense of self-esteem. In each case the teacher's use of color words is expressing the prejudiced assumptions of the society.

From earliest childhood on, both Black and White children associate black and brown with ink and soil. Children who get inky or dirty are called naughty. Black is associated with fear and evil. By association and because of attitudes often unconsciously communicated to them by adults, White children may come to see dark-skinned people as ugly as well as frightening. Teachers must help them to know that black and brown things and people, as well as light-colored things and people, can be and often are pleasant, good, lovely, and friendly. For example, though the darkness of night can be unnerving, it also brings the beauty of moonlight and stars.

Black children can easily internalize the negative values of *black* when it's used to mean evil and fear and of *brown* when it is used to mean soil or dirt. They have to learn that they are not the targets of abuse every time color words are used. Teachers aware of these dangers make special efforts to prevent feelings of frustration and inferiority from developing.

Teachers frequently make non-Anglo children angry and ashamed of their names by mispronouncing them all the time. Luis Cruz was a Chicano child whom Mrs. Martin kept calling "Loose Screws." The class laughed, but it wasn't funny to Luis. Names are very important to children so make an effort to say them properly, don't Anglicize them in front of the class, and don't make the child pronounce her/his name for you ten times a week or whenever called on.

Many White children and adults are addicted to stereotypic thinking. In every stereotype there is an insulting name whose use causes anger and anguish. In the desegregated school you might hear teachers and children use the name "nigger" (or in the South, "nigra"), "greaser," "wetback," or "Jap." There are analogous derogatory names for White people, like "red neck" or "honkey" or "ofay."

You cannot regard name-calling as trivial. If your pupils are little, you must talk with them about it. If you have an older group, you should have a unit on stereotypes. One fruitful experience would be testing common racial, religious, and ethnic group characterizations, both negative and positive, against the reality of the people your pupils know.

In secondary schools, a unit on prejudice can be introduced in language arts or social studies from the point of view of mental health: the effect of hatred on the self and how it hurts to be left out or rejected. Name-calling, scapegoating, rejection, exclusion, and violence are ways both children and adults express their prejudice. Units on value clarification, race relations, or intergroup relations give students a chance to identify their own value patterns and correct misconceptions about the values of people different from themselves. They learn how values are transmitted to children and come to understand the role that values play in influencing our expectations of others.

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I Can't Communicate With These Children

It was faculty meeting time in a newly desegregated school. A consultant had come from the university to help teachers identify and solve their problems. Ms. Sullivan spoke up first, saying, "I just can't communicate with these children."

"Yes, that's right," a White man added. "It's a matter of communication. We don't understand these Black kids."

For a while it seemed that the trouble was the use of idioms and colloquialisms. For example, the teachers did not understand why fights began when one child accused another, saying, "He called me out of my name," or because someone said, "Your mother" (which implied sexual behavior on her part).

Then another teacher said, "But the real problem is that the children don't seem to know what *I* say. Yesterday I was talking about foods and I mentioned the avocado. They never heard of it, so I tried "alligator pear." That didn't work either, so today I brought one in, cut it open, and let them taste it. They didn't like it."

"I had an experience, too," said Ms. Johnson. "Several times, as they were going out, I said, 'Single file.' They smiled at me and went on out in twos and threes. Then I said, 'Now get one behind the other and make one line.' They obeyed me without any trouble at all."

A teacher in an urban junior high school in the East was discussing problems of being together in her classroom. She asked her pupils what they would like to do differently in order to be happier together as a class. One child said, "Sometimes you say, 'Oh, fiddlesticks!' We don't know what that means."

Another agreed and agreed and added, "Then you say just, 'Oh.' "

A third spoke up, "And sometimes you just look and don't say anything!"

In a Midwestern city, small pupils were asked what their teacher could do to make them feel liked and respected. Among their most

frequent answers were, "Smile at us," "Let us go to the bathroom," and "Please tell her not to holler at us!"

Communication is a two-way problem. It is evident that some of the trouble may lie with the teacher. A teacher, for example, who forgets that poor children of all races do not always have a middle class vocabulary may be likely to use words, phrases, and expressions which are unfamiliar to the children. Also, their parents may not engage them in the kind of language feedback, correction, and vocabulary enlargement that is attributed to middle class families. If you want to give all pupils in your room equal opportunity to learn, you must be more flexible in your language and provide relevant experiences when it is obvious that concepts behind word symbols are missing. For children who speak little or no English, however, much more is needed. They need teachers who speak their language and a regular program of bilingual education if they are to have a fair chance to learn.

Some idioms and colloquialisms are racial, in which case they may be hard to understand. But remember that types of speech (e.g., Black English) have a rational, consistent basis despite how careless and inarticulate they may sound to the outsider. You may have difficulty understanding teenage slang, jive, heptalk, and other jargons that change so rapidly. It is hard for adults to keep up with them. One suggestion is to treat the problem cavalierly and have fun with it. Children can exchange idiomatic expressions among themselves and you, learning one another's talk. You, however, have responsibility for teaching suitability. You should teach children that some kinds of language patterns are OK for neighborhood use, but not always for school if they want to learn other patterns of speech and thought. Your requiring students to learn correct, standard American English can be immensely helpful to them in later life when they apply for, hold, and advance in various kinds of occupations. However, proficiency in "standard" English should not be provided at the expense of denigrating native speech patterns. Peoples' self-respect is inextricably tied to their native speech.

When some teachers anticipate classroom desegregation, they worry about the use of obscenity and profanity. Pupils need to learn when their language in the classroom offends and causes peer-group rejection. However, you, the teacher, must control your own tendency to feel insulted by certain language. No teacher needs to think less well of herself/himself because a child swears or calls her/him names. This is not to imply that you should ignore such impulsive or deliberate attempts to dominate you. However, before dealing with the

offense, you must find out whether you and the child have the same meaning for the words being used.

Teachers handle the use of bad language in various ways. Jimmy, in kindergarten, was playing with a toy. Suddenly he yelled, "You . . ."

The teacher, hearing it, said, "Jimmy, what does that mean?"

He looked up and said, "It means the car won't start." Obviously no action on the teacher's part was required.

Ms. Wilson was attempting to correct one of her more difficult adolescents. He had called her a liar. She replied, quite calmly, "No, I'm not."

By maintaining a calm manner and a quiet voice, and by clearly indicating to pupils that they cannot bully or insult you or dominate the classroom, you will retain control of the situation and thus defeat the children who want to get control over you, make you blow up, and thus entertain the class. Pupils eagerly listen to such exchanges to see who wins. If the perpetrators are defeated, they lose face and often withdraw emotionally. It is probably wise not to press your advantage at once, but to talk to them later on when they are more open to critical advice.

Teachers have language patterns which children may have some trouble getting used to. One of these is the distortion of questions. For example, a teacher working with a class on arithmetic said, "We must watch our what?" Another one, in a junior high school, dictating test questions which required pupils to fill in blank spaces, said, "The what stands for the what which means what when it is combined with what to form what?" Such questions are arbitrary and confusing. They call for one-word answers which may or may not be in every child's vocabulary.

A very great hazard for poor children is created when they are expected to relate to something quite outside their experience. For example, one class of children was unable to put anything on paper when told to paint a maypole. None of them could draw what they had not seen. An experience like this is terrifying for small children. The world around them appears hostile, making impossible demands. Children can respond in several unfortunate ways: they may lose all sense of self-esteem and consequently fear to venture creatively or assertively, or become too aggressive, wanting to show off before every adult.

Teachers decide ultimately how a class is going to behave. Their understanding of the children determines the behavior of the children, not vice versa. If teachers don't understand their students, there will be no learning, no joy, and indeed no classroom—just chaos.

Who Are They?
Why Are They Here?
Where Are They Going?

Nearly all people, at some time, ask such questions about the identity of other persons, and more important for teachers, teenagers seek the answers to these questions about themselves. Students' search for their own identity is made more difficult if the kinds of experiences that develop self-knowledge are missing in early childhood. For example, some children live in homes where parents are necessarily preoccupied with their own work and anxieties and can pay only minimal attention to building up a child's personality. In extreme examples some children, at four or five, do not know their own names and have never seen their faces in mirrors that don't distort their features. Equipping classrooms with good mirrors helps all children to know and like their own faces.

Preschool, kindergarten, and first-grade teachers usually print the children's names on large pieces of paper which can then be tied on as hats or pinned on as belts or used as name tags. Teachers should take every occasion to use children's names and avoid calling them "boy" or "girl" in direct address. One teacher was quite upset when, not intending harm, she called to a child, "Boy, you boy, come here!"

The child turned on her with anger, and said, "My name is Raymond. You use it!"

During slavery and after, depriving Blacks of their names was a device used to deny them personal worth and identity. Even today it is not unusual to hear a White person refer to a Black man as "boy": for example, a (40-year-old) "delivery boy." The use of courtesy titles—Mrs., Mr., Miss, and Ms.—and of last names is essential to establish good interpersonal, interracial relations among adults.

Teachers should be equally sensitive to sexist expressions, such as "girl" which when applied to adult women, tend to exacerbate a

relationship already complicated by race. In discussing teachers chosen to pioneer in faculty desegregation, a certain speaker said, "The superintendent has found 'just the right gal' for the Jefferson School." Just as bad, he might have called her a "good girl." A member of the audience was rightfully upset about the use of "gal," even though there was no intentional insult.

Much is wrong with textbooks, especially their misstating and omitting mention of the culturally different Americans. White teachers may not even notice the one sentence out of 200 pages that concerns the Iroquois Confederacy, but that Iroquoi youngster in the class will wait all year for the teacher to get to it and will be sorely disappointed if it is skipped over. All that child's hopes and dreams about school are wrapped up in that one sentence. Use textbooks to help your children. Don't use them carelessly.

Using the camera is another way you can help your children take pride in themselves and their appearance. Many children never have had their pictures taken. The snapshots you take will please them, especially if they are enlarged and mounted. After being displayed, each photo should be given to the child. It is especially important to take pictures of children at work—reading, painting, or playacting, for example. Children take great pride in the identification of self with school tasks and love to point to those pictures on PTA nights and visiting days, saying, "Look, that's me painting," or "Here I am at the blackboard."

Because the face embodies the self, teachers must be very careful not to disparage it. A visitor heard one angry teacher scream at a misbehaving pupil, "Get out of here! I can't stand looking at your face any longer!" That teacher struck at the roots of the child's self. She should not have been surprised when he refused to return to her classroom. The insult was doubly compounded by the fact that the child had brown skin and the teacher white.

When you do not like a child's behavior, it is essential for you to tell her/him so. But remember that behavior is not the self. It is better to say, "*You* I like. But I do not like what you *do*, and I want you to change your way of behaving."

It is also very important for you to avoid saddling minority children with guilt for shaming their race or religion or even family. For example, never say, "Your family will suffer from what you have done," or "The Irish will be ashamed of you." This is entirely too heavy a load for any child to bear, as well as being untrue. A pupil's in-school behavior does not bring such dire consequences.

In our society a person's work often symbolizes the person. We ask, "What is she?" when we mean, "What does she do?" The

answer, "She is a doctor," for example, establishes the person's high professional status. We also may answer the question, "Who is he?" by indicating his material possessions—"He is a millionaire." That establishes his high socioeconomic status. The answer, "He is an Asian," indicates preoccupation with race.

Many lower class children have neither material possessions nor aspirations for the future. You may be able to provide some books and tools for them to own, at least for the duration of the school year. You can find many opportunities to inform them of the kinds of jobs that are open to all who qualify. Help them recognize strengths and weaknesses in terms of what the various kinds of work and professions require. Guide them in eliminating weaknesses and capitalizing on strengths.

Realistic self-appraisal is essential. But remember that you do not know what the potentialities for development are. Some children are slow-growers or late-bloomers. Black children, given hope and a good environment, are likely to show abilities neither the non-Black teacher nor they themselves suspected they had. Poverty-stricken parents who are without hope on account of discriminatory employment rarely ask their young ones, "What are you going to be when you grow up?" They and their children have little reason to believe that in America a person has the right to choose what she/he will become.

Don't be misled by the quality of a child's clothing and believe that the family's income is adequate. Dresses and suits that pupils wear to school are often taken off as soon as school is over, washed, and pressed so as to be spotless for the next day. Investigation of parents' employment and income levels may reveal that some well-dressed children live in poor homes.

Educators would all agree that children should benefit from school, graduate from it healthy and prepared to participate in society. For this to happen, each child must have a positive self-image that is reinforced and, to a large degree, fostered by adults. Teachers often have a difficult time reaching many children of different races and backgrounds; nevertheless, the teacher must try, for a child's sense of identity is as precious as it is fragile.

Are They Really What They Seem To Be?

The early years for the children of poverty are, by definition, unique. Even the poor child's audio and visual perceptions may possibly be different from the middle class as their survival needs are not always the same. Because these survival needs are often unfamiliar to teachers, the behavior which stems from these needs is likewise misunderstood and mislabeled.

Children are individuals, no matter where they come from or what their race or social class may be. As a teacher, you must understand each child on the basis of individual, human worth. You must regard each one as the possessor of unknown potential whose development is your responsibility and your challenge. Above all, avoid the dehumanizing effect of stereotypes.

Keep in mind that the following descriptions of what some so-called "slum" children are like in school are due not to race but rather to the material circumstances in which poor children find themselves. Nobody likes to be poor. Difficulties arise when people are required to give up something they value in order to get and keep a job with a living wage. It is easy to mistake common behavior problems for the symptoms of poverty in poor children while in children more familiar to us we consider the same problems to stem from the individual and not the group. The descriptions that follow certainly do not apply to all poor children nor do they apply only to poor children. Middle- and upper-class children, too, need the kinds of consideration recommended here.

Few children pay much attention to staying clean, and when poverty and oppression keep families living in hazardous dwellings, it's harder for mothers to keep their children in fresh clothes every day. Encouragement and praise and rewards when they succeed will all bring positive results; punishment will not.

One behavior pattern which is often called "babyish" includes uncontrolled talking, playing, tapping of pencils and feet, eating and crying. The cause may be simply the children's need to move around. Some may be unaccustomed to sitting still for any length of time or irked by the closeness of desk to chair and of child to child. Usually they are frustrated rather than immature. After all, neither the teacher nor most other adults are expected to sit still and quiet for any length of time, even though adults have less need to exercise than children.

Many children fortunately get angry because they are expected to endure the brusque, loud tones teachers sometimes use to give orders. They may also be angry at themselves when their efforts to do a difficult task or to keep up with classmates are futile. Don't make the mistake of calling such children uncontrollable.

Non-White children, especially, may be afraid. From early childhood on, the seeming unpredictability of White people's behavior is often an intimate part of their lives. In the mixed classroom they are also afraid of ridicule and reprisal if what they say is wrong or displeases the teacher or peers. Fear may cause a child to answer sharply or use a querulous tone of voice. Don't hastily accuse such a child of arrogance.

Some children are likely to underachieve partly because they lack experience with competition as a way of life and partly because they are unaccustomed to speed exercises and time requirements. Don't prejudge them as uncooperative or lacking in ability or ambition.

Poor children in large families very often have no possessions to call their own. They may not understand the concept of private property. Whatever the family affords—food, clothing, or school supplies—belongs to all, and each takes what she/he needs from the common supply. These children may take pencils, paper, or even books from where you store them at school. Don't be unthinking in accusing them of stealing. Withhold the label, too, when a child eats a classmate's lunch; that child may be hungry. Taking another's belongings may also be a signal that the child is lonely and needs companionship.

Minority students are sometimes suspicious of children who offer friendship and of teachers who are sincere. In teachers' words, they "carry a chip on their shoulder," or "constantly complain of being picked on," or "are hostile," or "pull away when I touch them." Don't consider them neurotic as some teachers hastily do. In all probability they have not adjusted to being in a racial, ethnic, or socioeconomic minority which is a difficult task for anyone—regardless of age or race.

Teachers worry a great deal about fighting. In their anxiety teachers even encourage children to tell on one another about the

fighting that takes place on the way to and from school. Yet many middle- and lower-class parents of all races are proud—rightfully or wrongfully—when their boys (although not their girls) come home with bruises as long as they beat up the other kid. Many children are taught that they must stand up for and protect themselves as well as their brothers and sisters. Teachers should be careful not to offend a child's sense of honor and duty toward other children.

Some children seem to have no sense of time; they are often tardy getting to school and slow to finish class assignments. Efforts to correct lateness to school and slowness in class often fail because their families are not schedule-oriented. Lack of punctuality is not an act of defiance or laziness any more than it is a genetic trait.

Disorderly desks, disorganized notebooks, pockets full of scraps of paper and bits of pencils or food do not mean that a child is disorganized or personally dirty. If the home is crowded, lacks furniture with drawers, has few if any closets, and the single, poorly equipped bathroom has to be shared with other tenants—or if everything is left for the mother or the maid to clean up—teachers will find it difficult to teach children to be clean and organized. Instead of criticizing the children, devise learning experiences which develop the values you want your students to acquire.

Poor families rarely spend money for games which teach children to follow written instructions. Moreover, they often have little need to give more than simple, direct oral directions. Be careful not to regard failure to follow directions as disobedience. Rather, begin to teach with simple directions. As you increase their complexity, put some reminders of each step on the board so that all the children can follow along without becoming frustrated. Learning will be facilitated by encouragement and help and praise.

Many people are competitive but show it in different ways. More than likely, all children at one time or another have had to compete for the human affection they need for survival. The same child, therefore, can appear competitive, ambitious to one adult and lazy, indifferent to another. How and why a child chooses to compete (and whether or not to show it) can vary immensely. The integrated experience can help teacher and student alike develop new objectivity on their own strengths and short-comings. People prefer to view themselves and those they see like themselves in individual terms while ascribing a social understanding, which leads to the development of stereotypes, to those from backgrounds different from theirs. The integrated classroom is the place to overcome this sickness, at the time in peoples' lives when they are most receptive to new perceptions.

Aren't We Making Them Unhappy?

Shouldn't everyone want to be middle class? Do poor people have cultures? Should their values be respected as much as middle class values are? Aren't we causing conflict between parents and children when we try to prepare children to get out of poverty? Wouldn't it be better to put good schools in poor neighborhoods than to take the children out for a few hours and then send them back? Shouldn't "they" (Blacks, Asians, Chicanos, Cubans, First Americans, Puerto Ricans) pull themselves up by their bootstraps as other people did? If they can't, doesn't it mean they're inferior? Questions like these reveal lack of information and insight into the nature of life in the United States.

This country has been called an open society. That means people are able to move up the socioeconomic ladder. Education has been one means of achieving social mobility for some people; historically, the public school has been charged with the responsibility for helping people make that climb. However, the public schools have not helped everybody. Black Americans, who did not choose to come here but were captured and forced into slavery, were at once placed on the other side of a caste wall. Schooling was denied them in slavery, and since emancipation their schooling has remained mostly separate and inferior. This is true both in the South and in the North, where housing discrimination maintained de facto segregation that kept many children in inferior schools. The inferiority of the schooling provided them, in turn, has been used to cut Black Americans off from jobs that lead upward on the socioeconomic scale. Similar patterns have affected Chicanos and Puerto Ricans in both rural and urban areas, First Americans on reservations and in cities.

Adoption of the Anglo-American culture has been closely connected with economic mobility, and the schools have been instru-

mental in passing that culture to succeeding generations. Here again, contrast what happened to Blacks, First Americans, and Spanish-speaking with what was done for other people. During its period of territorial annexation and industrialization, the United States received millions of immigrants. Most of them came from Europe with neither money nor education, but they came of their own accord, seeking more freedom and a decent living. There was plenty of unskilled work to be done, and community organizations and the school systems mobilized their resources to help the newcomers become Americans. Americanization programs blossomed all over the land, but First Americans, Blacks, and most Spanish-speaking people didn't have the opportunity to benefit from them. Every effort was made to acculturate the immigrants: to assimilate them into the existing population and give them the chance for useful employment. This assimilation required them to give up their cultural heritage—or at least conceal it—but many were willing to make the exchange for a chance at financial success.

In contrast, Blacks, First Americans, and Chicanos never were offered even this dubious choice. Forcibly deprived by slaveowners of as much as possible of their African culture, Blacks developed a new, Afro-American culture. Still they have been prevented by segregation, exclusion, and repression from participating as mobile wage earners or full citizens. First Americans have had to choose between living at the subsistence level on reservations, where their children were likely to be taken from them and deculturated by physical or psychological punishment in Indian schools, or migrating to the cities to be surrounded by an alien culture and a struggle for employment at the lowest level. Since their land was conquered in the nineteenth century, Chicanos, earlier citizens than the English colonists, have had to abandon their language and culture and embrace those of the Anglo to be even eligible for a job with a decent salary.

Now, however, the rights of citizens can no longer be denied these groups or any others—and they regard education as one of those rights. Calls for integration and community control have been interpreted as contradictory; as a result, each has been used as an excuse for not providing the other. What parents and leaders want for their children, however, is good education. The public schools are responsible for giving what every child in the United States has the right to receive—full and equal preparation for effective living in our society and the world. Groups that have been excluded must have the authority to represent at least themselves on the bodies that make decisions about schools. As community integration increases, they

will probably be called on to represent not only their own group, but citizens in general, as middle class Whites have done for so long.

In light of historical fact, claims of the genetic economic superiority of Europeans are revealed as attempts to maintain the unfair and exploitative economic relations that exist among groups. Such claims can never be adequately tested, in any event, because nowhere in the world is there a comparable sample of Europeans who have been treated as a group the way other groups have been treated in the United States. It seems spurious, furthermore, to argue that poor people like to live and work in depressed conditions and would be unhappy in less constricted surroundings. For Whites to argue that going to school with middle class White children will make children from other groups unhappy is an attempt to rationalize unwillingness to give all children full and equal opportunity to become as socially and economically mobile as they wish to be. Poverty, after all, is not a value except in some religious groups. No one enjoys being poor, and very few parents want their children to be poor. The assertion that preparing students for a work that will lead them to better and better standards of living will alienate them from their families or their culture is another disguise for the wish to exclude them from competition. Such alienation results only when it is made a condition by the employer, the school, or the society they represent. People can be good students, good workers, successful entrepreneurs, or inspired leaders without abandoning family or culture. Cultural conflict between home and school is usually the result of a school's attempt to impose uniform values just because uniformity and order are convenient—easy to administer, measure, and control. The school may also mistake for a value some unavoidable result of financial limitations. It may consider an action cultural only when it is performed by impoverished students; the same action becomes human nature when performed by their middle class peers. Such confusion arouses resistance in parents, which may then be directed at any action of the school.

The values teachers most effectively convey are, ironically, the ones they are not consciously teaching. Children emulate people whom they like and whom they want to like them, adopting their values and sometimes even their mannerisms. You don't have to worry about ways to teach your real values; just be sure you are aware of them.

In fact, it is extremely dangerous for the school to try to teach values overtly. For example, one high school student suffered emotional trauma when a teacher he admired made the flat statement that gangsters and organized crime were the *cause* of most evils in

the city. The boy's father regularly sold numbers to provide the necessary money to keep their family together and the children in school. Flat statements of value have many pitfalls. Like the one in this example, they may be inaccurate and fail to take account of the facts of causality (what makes organized crime possible and profitable?). They are almost invariably produced by oversimplification. And even those that are subtle and complex enough to reflect reality are still inappropriate for the classroom unless they are relevant to students' lives. To avoid cruel and unnecessary conflict between a child's value system at home and the one at school, teachers must deliberately examine what they say in class for its potential influence on students, particularly when teacher and students come from different backgrounds.

At the same time, students need to learn about the nature of our society. You can use both course work and field trips to show them the different conditions that go with different economic levels or racial identities. The reasons some groups are financially better off than others are key issues in the study of both our communities and our history. Unless students understand the implications that poverty, unemployment, and the lack of good housing and medical care have for the survival of the United States as a whole, they will be no better equipped than their parents to solve the nation's problems. On the other hand, if you help them develop the ability to seek out relationships among economic, political, and social conditions, they will have a value that enables them to contribute substantially to our nation's development—and to use their own cultural values in doing so.

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Should I Discipline?

Regardless of the kinds of children, discipline, control, correcting, and punishing occupy a lot of time in many classrooms until the 25 or 30 individuals have become a group. Children must learn to respond with enough obedience and conformity to get the classroom work done. The most important thing for you to do is to establish that you are the teacher, that you owe an equal responsibility to all the students, and that you, therefore, will require a certain amount of order and discipline to accomplish the goals set out for all your students. Through the order you establish, you will be able to demonstrate respect for each student's dignity.

Your first task, therefore, is to set up the limits of behavior in your room. If your pupils are sufficiently mature, they should help you decide what kinds of behavior are essential for good teaching and learning in their classroom. They may also help you decide the consequences of unsuitable and disrupting conduct. When children know the established limits of behavior, they can at least conform with greater confidence in themselves. When they are uncertain of behavioral limits, children often respond more impulsively and erratically.

Even when the limits are well understood, individual pupils will undoubtedly test them out. In one classroom, for example, a boy made a noise by moving his chair while the teacher was with a reading group. He looked to see if the teacher heard. She paid no attention, so he did it again. (A disapproving shake of her head might have stopped him.) Again he looked at the teacher. Still she seemed not to care, so he continued making noise until the bell rang for recess. In another class, a teacher was working with a small reading group at the front of the room. He asked one child a question. While he waited for the answer, a girl said softly, "I know." The teacher paid

no attention to this. The next question was greeted by two children, saying less softly, "I know, I know." Still the teacher did not object. On the third question all the children were shouting, "I know! I know!" and wildly waving their hands. Teachers must continue to explain the limits of behavior after the initial day and insist that they be followed.

There is nothing authoritarian about administering discipline. Rather, when done fairly and with the entire class's welfare in mind, it is simply the way teachers organize their classes. Without any discipline, children cannot receive the instruction that teachers have the professional responsibility to give.

You should, however, avoid becoming a punitive person. If you suspect that you punish too often, you may need to look within yourself to discover what your own childhood experience was and perhaps what personal drives you are expressing. Be quite sure that you're not acting out of fear of children, especially minority children, by using them as targets for abuse. Sometimes a fearful, insecure person thinks, "I'll show them first, before they show me."

A form of punishment frequently used in schools where there is not a lot of busing is detention. If this means that the child returns at 3:30 p.m. to face an angry teacher who says, "Now you sit there and don't move until the clock says 4:15," little good is accomplished and the end result may be increased hostility on both sides. If on the other hand the teacher uses the time for a one-to-one conversation with the child, the end result might be greater mutual understanding. With understanding comes acceptance and, for the child, willingness to obey and conform in order to learn. After such a session a child could go home saying, "That teacher digs me and I'm going to try."

Some forms of punishment used in bygone years seem to persist, although they are totally unwise. One of them is to make a child write 50, 100, or even 500 times a sentence like, "I will not talk anymore." (It would be terrible if it actually did accomplish that goal.)

Another punishment is the assignment of a large number of arithmetic problems or a composition on good behavior or extra work in any subject area. The net effect is to instill dislike of the subjects involved. If the teacher uses arithmetic or composition as punishment after school, who can blame children for equating those subjects with punishment?

Teachers should constantly scrutinize their disciplinary actions for racist and classist bias. In order to understand their individual behavior and their students' more objectively, teachers should first examine their school and school district. Teachers in the Southwest, for example, could ask if disproportionately large numbers of Chicano

students are being displaced or excluded from school. Teachers in the South, to use another example, could ask if disproportionately large numbers of Black and First American students are being displaced or excluded from school. The emotional climate of a school district will be reflected in the individual classroom. If your school or school district is experiencing high rates of displacement/exclusion, then there may be good reason why your students are uncontrollable, frenetic, and anxious. They need the assurance of your commitment to their education before any order (and learning) can take place.

There are some schools where the children do just as they please. They talk out loud all the time; they walk around the room; they throw paper and chalk at each other; and practically no one listens to the teacher or does what the teacher says to do. These conditions exist when, from principal to custodian, all adults have abdicated; all are ignoring their responsibilities. Children in these schools have won a perverse and self-destructive battle for leadership and domination.

Children who dominate a situation by assuming the adult role will probably suffer anxiety from their own "victory." They are emotionally ill-equipped for an adult role of dominance. Because of this anxiety, the tendency to act impulsively increases and behavior becomes more uncontrollable, both for student and teacher.

In such a situation, teachers should discuss this with as many students as possible, both individually and in groups, as well as among themselves and with teachers from other schools. These meetings should result in establishment of parameters of behavior that the students have helped set up. When conduct policy has been developed, the entire faculty must agree to follow up, both immediately and consistently. Then when giving directions, teachers ideally will be able to give alternative courses of behavior and their consequences, with which the students will already be acquainted because they were a part of the policy-making process. Referring to the student-teacher meetings and the rules they helped establish shows that your discipline is neither arbitrary nor capricious. Furthermore, if the meetings have successfully involved the students, the students themselves will support you in any justified disciplinary action. But when you do discipline your students, remember that some rebellion is normal and healthy in students.

Of course, parents have to be included in any efforts to make the school a better place for learning. This involves PTA meetings, in-school conferences with individual parents, and home visits. Parents' cooperation is a must.

Try to keep in mind the feelings that enter into a student-teacher relationship when firm direction of any sort is being administered. Examine your personal life for any resentment. Examine your school and school district for any recent history of discriminatory discipline —especially displacement and exclusion. Try to understand why a student might be suspicious and defiant of you. When you have confidence in your impartiality and when you understand the personal and institutional implications of discipline, your best course of action is to be firm, fair, and consistent.

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How Can I Encourage Learning?

One of the greatest hazards for minority children in a desegregated school is the competition some feel with their White peers. Black children, for example, know that many Black adults, no matter how well qualified, have been rejected when they have applied for work. They are also aware of the resentment, and sometimes violence, a Black family incurs when it moves into a White neighborhood. Some Blacks (and other minorities as well) are so intimidated by this potential hostility from Whites that they feel hypercompetitive with non-Blacks as a result. Some individuals to prove their equality with Whites feel they must do better than any White person. Teachers have a special responsibility to demonstrate that no child must be *better* to be *equal*, a self-destructive concept both absurd and inhumane.

In the earlier discussion of acceptance, you got some ideas for ensuring that children acquire favorable self-concepts. You may have a hard time convincing a boy, for example, that he is worthy of affection if an adult constantly tells him he is mean or is a "devil." But once children are sure they are liked, they can like themselves as well as others. Accepted children lose the anxiety that comes from rejection, and energies are released for learning.

Self-respect also involves a sense of adequacy, without which there can be little motivation or effort to learn. Because adequacy comes from success, it is of greatest importance to make sure that all children experience some degree of success every day. To ensure this, children should have various learning experiences both vicarious and direct, such as pictures, trips, radio, TV, films, dramatics, making things and taking them apart, firsthand examination of the earth and nature, and meeting people—in addition to books. This does not

mean that you "throw the books out the window"; they are very important. But books should be on a wide range of reading levels and not the sole means of learning.

If every child is to learn, you will have to plan tasks that vary in difficulty and length, for there is no such thing as a homogeneous group. Meeting individual differences will require some one-to-one relationships. Much individual learning goes on in small groups; children like to help each other. You will speed the integration process when you assign, for example, an able Black child to help a slower White one and vice versa, and when an able minority child is given leadership responsibility in group work. The cast for a dramatic production should be selected after tryouts during which the class has helped decide who is best for each part.

The concept of success is broader than the grading system. It involves taking note of, recognizing, and rewarding what is right as well as marking what is wrong. A basic learning principle is to emphasize what is right and to reward success as soon as possible. Thus, when you give a spelling or arithmetic test, if out of ten words or problems a boy, for example, has one or two right, say so on his paper; praise him for learning them, and tell him you expect he will get more right the next time.

Success does not require that you give children only easy work. They must learn to stretch themselves, striving for goals within reach. If you use words rather than symbols to evaluate work, you will be able to praise and encourage each child, urge each one to make more effort, and caution each one against being content with less than the best. Avoid comparing children with each other, especially when they are of different races. Rather, for each one, emphasize self-improvement. All children will take pleasure in learning as soon as they know how to learn. Joy comes from knowing and from knowing how to learn, not from marks.

Little children, like other people, need a reason for working at school tasks; they need motivation. From upper-elementary grades on, you may have a hard job convincing some children that learning is worthwhile. One way to encourage children to learn is to study people and values with whom they can identify. A Chicano child quite understandably might be turned off by his course studies if the only mention of his people in the curriculum is Pancho Villa, the "bandit."

In secondary schools you can arrange for speakers of various backgrounds to address assemblies; you can take trips into the community to see mixed groups at work in business and industry and to interview people in higher government positions and the professions. These valuable learning experiences are ways to provide all your

children with encouraging role models and to give them a realistic view of our society and world, which are both multicultural.

Feelings of worth come partly from identification with heroes in history, literature, and present-day life. Race, religion, and national origin of movie and TV stars, musicians, writers, scientists, and sports champions should be identified; children who incorporate them as role models are often unaware of the racial, religious, and ethnic origins of the very people they emulate. Classroom activities that are centered around religious/ethnic holidays and observances, such as Martin Luther King's birthday and *Cinco de Mayo*, are a pleasurable and stimulating way to improve the climate for learning in your class.

Human beings throughout their entire lives have a constant need to prove their worth. To satisfy that need, children's behavior sometimes takes strange and bizarre forms. Minority children will not need to act up if they get assurance from you that as human beings they are good and, therefore, that you like them; that they are able to learn and to become and, therefore, that you respect them. When they know that you are not hostile toward their race and that you encourage your students to feel similarly, then you will have achieved integration in your classroom.

After a long period of years, a White teacher found two notes in her "box of memories." They were laboriously printed, the teacher recalled, by a small Black girl, who, until then, she hardly knew was there.

> "Dear Mrs. Jones," the first one read, "I am sorry I have been bad all day. Plase forgive me. Thank you. I love you. Carale"'

The second note, slipped into the teacher's hand the last day she had seen the child, read,

> "Dear Mrs. Jones. I will try to work well in schooi. I will do my best. I will not be bad any more. I love you.
> Carol Ann Smith."

Do I Need Special Kinds of Learning Materials?

Like any other classroom, a biracial classroom must have materials that appeal to children. Unless they enjoy the books, stories, pictures —and in kindergarten and first grade, the toys—they will reject them and not be able to learn from them. Children will not like materials unless they can identify with at least some of the people in the pictures and stories, can read about their own racial and ethnic groups in the history books, and can find out about problems which their group and others are trying to solve. Admittedly, in some school systems, new and inexperienced teachers do not select books and equipment. In many, however, they and their colleagues do have some opportunities to make suggestions and to send in requests. The reasons multiethnic readers and supplementary materials are needed should be brought to the attention of all teachers.

Non-White children are not the only ones who need more realistic materials. White children must come to recognize that they live in a multicultural world in which only one of every five persons is White and that their positive attitudes toward racial difference are essential for survival. As adults, White people will increasingly work side by side with non-Whites, be their employees and their employers, be their pupils and their teachers, and be their patients and their doctors.

Be sure, then, that your bulletin board pictures all races. The family groups you show must include the major races present in the United States. Work and play groups should show non-White people working and playing together. If you have dolls, be sure some have dark skin and others light. Pictures of historical characters should include the great of all groups who have contributed to the development of human life. Pictures of cities should include the impoverished sections as well as the highrise apartments and homes surrounded

by lawns and gardens. However, be careful that you don't inadvertently support negative (or positive) stereotypes. Avoid pictures that portray negative stereotypes of Blacks as menial workers, of Chicanos as migrant laborers, of First Americans as "savages," and of Asians as "Charley Chans" and "Suzy Wongs." Likewise, don't have as all your successful professionals, White males—a positive stereotype. The use of visual materials requires careful planning and the advice and comments of other people.

Appropriate materials are essential to any successful classroom learning experience. If your school and school district have inadequate materials and are unwilling to obtain them, contact parents and parent groups. Of all people, they should best recognize the need for healthy role models; convince them they are as necessary in school as at home. To assist you in making intelligent, persuasive contacts with parents and policy makers, the Bibliography following the Appendixes lists materials that will acquaint you with current thinking on pluralism in education. And the several organizations listed will be able to advise in a resource capacity from their particular ethnic point of view.

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Can Everyone Participate?

Many poor children are intimidated by the middle class ways of their teachers and, as a consequence, appear shy and withdrawn. Their parents similarly are often inhibited toward their employers (and perhaps even toward their child's teacher) to the point of seeming inexpressive and undemonstrative. What a middle class child might consider normal, assertive behavior in class, a poor child may very well consider arrogance. Classroom participation, and the intellectual aggressiveness it requires, frequently reflects the self-assurance of a middle class child who knows life to be responsive to individual effort.

Children unfamiliar with middle class speech and ways can get very boisterous and restless if their teacher's behavior appears totally alien to them. As mentioned in a previous chapter, this frenetic behavior if left alone will intensify to an uncontrollable, self-destructive level unless an outlet is found. Boisterousness in this case might actually be a dimension of passivity—a child with no initiative, just directly reacting to the teacher. Teachers must act with sympathy, but assertively, to help their students achieve. Insecure students, alienated culturally, can learn to express themselves in a healthy, constructive manner if teachers do their part by making a conscious effort to involve their students in the classroom.

Some things are difficult to talk about and sometimes it is difficult to get any meaningful dialogue at all when you have 50 kids in your class. Try using the educational techniques of other societies to deal with these problems and by so doing, increase your pupils' participation. Some societies, such as the Chinese, used the method of recitation to teach and achieved very high educational levels. In other societies, such as the Native American and traditional African, the storytelling method has been used. The opera in Europe was probably

invented to discuss the very difficult subject of love and the predicaments people get into because of it. If some aspects of human relations are hard to talk about, role playing may be helpful.

Recitation periods are another way to involve all your students. Regrettably, some teachers still go up one row, down the next, calling on one child at a time in turn. If you do that, there is little likelihood that anyone other than the child called upon—and the child whose turn is next—will listen to the questions. Very often no one listens to the answer, which is directed to the teacher and is inaudible at any distance. Usually, teachers who conduct recitations this way repeat the answers in a loud voice hoping to catch the attention of the pupils. But repetition is boring and a great waste of time.

If you want all the pupils to participate, ask your question, give the class a few moments to think of the answer, and then call on someone. Don't repeat what has been said, but involve another child by saying, for example, "Tim, is that your answer, too?" or "Mary, do you agree with what Sally said?" or "How many of you can add something to that answer?" Also, instead of saying "All right" to every answer as many teachers do, use your words, facial expression, tone of voice, and gestures to evaluate the answer and show your pleasure to each child who participates. Use such expressions as "Fine," "Good," Excellent," "I like what you said," "Don't stop, we need to hear more from you," "Come in, we need your help," "You have an interesting idea but it isn't quite what we need now," "Hold that [a not quite relevant answer] until later, but don't forget to tell us again." During such recitation periods, watch the faces, gestures, and postures of all your children so that you can pick up every clue that tells you when certain ones are ready with a contribution. If you call on them for answers and opinions, encourage them, and praise every effort they make, they will soon be an integral part of your group.

Discussions are different from recitations. The subject should be announced at least a day ahead and the students should be told where and how to get information about it. Children should not be involved in merely exchanging ignorance or in speculation without facts. Since all the pupils will not be reading at the same level, tell them that newspapers, magazines, pictures, and people are valid and respectable sources of information. Children need to develop the skills of learning from these sources as well as from text and reference books, and they will, in this way, be able to select materials on their own levels.

Make the furniture work for you to facilitate discussion. Placing chairs or desks in a circle is most helpful. If the group is too large for that, two-row circles can be used. As often as possible pupils

should see each other's faces rather than the backs of their heads and learn to talk across the circle to each other as well as to the teacher.

Until pupils have had many experiences with discussions, you should be the leader. The process is not too different from that described for an effective recitation, except that you do not stimulate discussion by merely asking questions and you must avoid repeating and even commenting on everything pupils say. Be sure to keep an eye on shy and insecure children so that you can draw them into the conversation.

No matter what children say in discussion groups, there must be no sign of shock or reprisal from you. Before talking begins, you and the class should set up some ground rules which will include no laughing at anyone unless something funny was intended and giving everyone the right to speak and be heard. Correction of English should be left for another time. Misstatements and factual errors must be noted, of course, but if correction can be delayed until other facts have been brought out, the child who made the mistake will suffer less from shame. All mistakes should be used as learning experiences and not as failures.

Very often children are unwilling to speak loudly enough to be heard or to volunteer answers, opinions, and comments because they are afraid of being wrong or of being laughed at or of being scolded for not knowing. Also, it takes some people a little longer to organize the words needed to express their thoughts. Many teachers tend to pass over the children they think will not know the answer and give more time to those whom they expect to have the answers. Arbitrarily creating, in this way, expectation of success in some children and denying it to others is behavior unworthy of the teaching profession. In most instances you owe every pupil whatever time she/he needs and should receive with equal warmth and enthusiasm what each one has to say.

Sometimes children withdraw from participation because the subject under discussion or study has no connection with the reality of their lives. If it is just recall of factual textbook materials, recitation is better than discussion. Social and moral issues and problems of living lend themselves to discussion.

Planning the day's program or the week's work or the course unit should interest all the pupils if they know how to plan and if the teacher is sincere when inviting the students to help make decisions about what, when, and where to study and about who is to do what. Many children of all races have had little experience with the process and have rarely, if ever, been allowed to help make decisions. Yet, if they are to survive comfortably when they grow up,

they must now develop skills in planning, in weighing facts for relative values, and in considering the consequences of alternative decisions. Pupil-teacher planning, especially in secondary schools, should be designed to give students a chance to practice these things.

Students have to learn complex skills to live with any individual direction in society. Some of these skills are identifying problems, setting up goals, and planning actions for reaching these goals; accepting and fulfilling responsibilities; evaluating themselves, the processes they use, and their final outcomes. The quality and comfort of a person's life are directly affected by how well she/he learns these skills. Teachers shape this vital learning by the way they develop their students' initiative and confidence through classroom involvement.

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Why Not Separate Groups?

Everybody, whether consciously or not, assumes similarities among people and is dismayed when all sorts of differences crop up. Teachers, in particular, don't know what to do with differences in pupils' muscular coordination, vocabulary and use of number, space, and time concepts; readiness for reading; personality; likes and dislikes, race, height, beliefs, feelings. They think they have to place children in homogeneous groups so they can teach according to the spurious assumption of necessary similarity. It is more realistic to assume differences among people as the norm. Differences, and hence, heterogeneous grouping, then become a learning aid.

For several decades, educators have tried grouping children on the basis of their mental abilities. Since reading is a tool needed for success in almost all subjects, scores on standardized reading tests often have been the major criterion for determining to which groups pupils belong. However, because administrative necessity limits the number of groups, there are usually only three—top, middle, and bottom. In each group, therefore, the range of abilities remains too wide for this type of grouping to have any meaning.

Whether or not grouping helps more children to learn depends upon many factors. Among these factors are the teachers' feelings about the classes to which they are assigned and the confidence they have in their own expertise.

To what group a child belongs is based not only on reading tests but also on IQ tests which are known to produce far from valid measurements of any child's potentiality. They are particularly faulty in measuring the possible achievement levels that lower class children can reach. This misuse of tests is a serious problem today throughout the country. Its effects are dehumanizing: children's self-esteem and mental health are at stake. Placement decisions are also based upon teachers' subjective judgments which become objectively registered as grades. These are heavily influenced by known or subconscious

attitudes toward race and social class, and by the teacher's projection of what a child might become.

Generalizations about any group's inherent ability to do academic work are unwarranted and false and are pernicious in their effect. To disparage potential on the sole basis of race is to damage a child's self-confidence and, perhaps, ability to succeed. Considerable evidence indicates that ability grouping and tracking provide subtle but devastating outlets for prejudices in the name of educational techniques. Ability grouping is especially hazardous for lower class Blacks and Whites and for Spanish-speaking and Indian children. It becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy for them and their teachers. When they are placed in low groups, the children realize they are considered to be stupid and tend to accept that judgment of their abilities. Their negative self-concepts are confirmed because when they see themselves as slow or nonlearners, they behave that way. Then teachers say, "I told you so; they are stupid."

Placement of Blacks and other minority group pupils in low-ability classes reinforces the negative stereotypes currently held by many in the American public schools. Teachers who habitually think in stereotypes expect the so-called low-ability children to do poorly in academic subjects. Their expectations determine how and what teachers prepare for them. Many a teacher, when assigned to those classes, says, "Well, I guess this year I'll just have to baby sit," or "If I have to, I'll just try to entertain them." "Baby sitting" and "entertaining" are a criminal abdication of a teacher's responsibility.

The boy (or girl) who has no expectation of being successful in school, who has come to see himself as a symbol of failure, whose first reaction to a task is to say, "I can't," behaves as he perceives himself to be. He doesn't even try; he doesn't learn. The teacher has failed.

An exceptionally successful method of individualizing instruction is having students help one another. Students can be excellent teachers and learn a great deal from each other in a tutoring situation. Another method of sharing labor and individualizing assignments is small group work within the class. Teachers find this practically impossible unless they have some academically aggressive pupils who can lead research committees, write well, judge the relative worth of facts, be recorders or secretaries, and think fast enough to be leaders of discussion and conversation groups.

The effect of grouping on a child's expectation was well illustrated during an evening open house where a parent engaged a small boy in conversation. He asked a rather easy question and got the immediate response, "I don't know."

The man pressed him saying, "Come now, I'm sure you do. Why don't you know?"

Then the youngster mumbled, with his head bent down, "I don't have to. I'm a turtle!"

On the basis of tests and class participation, the children in that class were divided into "hares" and "turtles." The teacher's constant spoken and implied feeling about him and his classmates had been, "Well, I guess I can't expect anything from you."

It is difficult to believe that children in low-ability classes have as equal an opportunity to learn, especially from their peers, as do pupils in nongrouped classes. The son of the editor of a large publishing house who had been placed in a low group said to his Father, "Dad, I'm not going back to school anymore. I just can't stand it. There is no one in the class that I can look up to."

Other evidence of inequality of opportunity was offered in a discussion group during an in-service education program. Teachers were exploring the use of dramatization and role playing as important devices for building self-confidence. Several teachers objected rather testily to Blacks' playing traditionally non-Black roles in school plays. For example: "You couldn't let a Negro play the role of Little Red Riding Hood!"

"Certainly not," said another. "I wouldn't want to spoil that Nordic story!"

Equal educational opportunity means that all learning experiences must be available to every child, regardless of race. We think nothing of non-Italians singing opera or of non-Elizabethan English people reading Shakespeare or of male actors having played female roles in Shakespeare's original productions. So why not be consistent?

Lower class pupils need to be in classes where they can learn new ways of looking at the world from middle class age-mates, and vice versa. White children need the experience of interchange with Black peers. Children of both races need to value each other so that as adults they will be able to live and work together democratically in a multiracial world.

Among the most harmful results of ability grouping and track systems are the emotional effects they have upon teachers. For example, slow progress causes boredom, which creates anxiety, feelings of guilt, and fatigue. Moreover, when children learn too slowly or when it seems to the teacher that they are not learning at all, the teacher may become doubtful of her/his ability to teach. Then the teacher's negative self-concept reacts upon the quality of the classroom performance and that in turn reinforces the teacher's feeling of inferiority.

Admittedly, this presentation gives only the negative side of ability grouping. Reports of success in ability grouping do come from situations where teachers know their own special qualifications and volunteer to teach low-ability groups. Success in teaching middle and low groups, separately and mixed together, depends upon less use of mass instruction and requires more use of diversified methods and assignments and materials that have a wide range of reading levels. Students should become independent learners who utilize facts gathered from many sources, including original sources, and who think deeply and critically about problems and issues. These same opportunities should be provided for students in heterogeneous groups.

Team teaching in heterogeneous groups may avoid the deadening regimentation of teaching and makes it possible to individualize instruction.

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Can Everyone Be Equal in My Classroom?

Equality of status is essential in the mixed classroom. Many White children are accustomed to thinking of the Black as a menial worker, the Indian as a savage, the Mexican-American as a farmhand, and the Asian as a pigtailed cook. They do not know that there are substantial numbers of doctors, lawyers, writers, scientists, teachers, and other professionals from these groups.

Black children are especially aware of the low status to which their race has previously been assigned in our society. They, like their classmates, may be in a mixed situation for the first time. In fact, very often, going to public school is the first experience children have of being with people different from themselves. In the mixed classroom, the teacher, of no matter what background, must play a neutral role in striving to create equality of status for all the pupils.

Your children will know they have equality of status in your room when you treat them all with equal friendliness, kindness, and fairness; when you smile at them all with equal sincerity; when you praise with equal warmth; when you distribute chores and privileges impartially. In your classroom, minority pupils must not become pets or mascots or scapegoats. Status established by you is likely to be accepted by the children. If you find a child being unequally treated by classmates, you must find the reasons why and change them. Skin color cannot be changed; if that is the reason for the unequal treatment you must attack the prejudices even children possess. There are various ways to do this.

Children feel very good about personal attention, for example, the recognition of their birthdays. So, be sure your minority pupils get cards from you if you are in the habit of sending them. In many families birthdays are ignored, and the children do not

know what a party means. In one school, the teachers said the children did not know the word "refreshments." Moreover, their mothers may not be able to send a cake or cookies or to afford popsicles for a class party. One way to handle this, if you have parties, is to arrange one party a month for all who have birthdays during that month.

If you make home visits, vary them among the racial members in your class. If you visit sick children in the hospital or at home or send them get-well cards or call on the phone to inquire about them, never neglect any minority children.

Housekeeping tasks, which children love to do, should be alternated. These include dusting board erasers, cleaning chalkboards, distributing and keeping track of books and other supplies, taking care of windows and curtains. It also includes taking messages to the office and to other teachers and acting as corridor monitors and hosts stationed in the office or front entrance to receive and direct visitors.

When leaders for teams and committees are needed, be sure minority pupils have their chance to fill status positions. To do so you may need to appoint leaders until you are fairly sure that racial or ethnic prejudice will not lead to rejection of children. Even then, a secret ballot for selection of leaders will be safer than a showing of hands. Choosing sides for team games is also a time when children suffer. It would be a terrible experience to always wait and wait to be the last one named.

You will establish equality of status in your room when your words and deeds match your belief in the equal worth of every individual. Teachers who practice what they preach will alleviate many student anxieties and release the energy needed for learning.

What To Do About Activities?

Some parents and teachers are worried about the social implications of integration. They want to know, for example, about dancing. They know that in square dancing children will be asked to hold hands. They also think that in social dances Blacks and Whites will ask one another to dance. Underneath is the fear that increased socializing is bound to lead to intermarriage. Studies of integration in housing and education, however, fail to show that this is the case.

Studies of social activities in integrated secondary schools show that mixed dancing or dating is not frequent. In any event, it certainly cannot be regarded as a prelude to marriage. It may be only an adolescent's desire to "kick over the traces" or defy parents and teachers who seem to the teenagers to be prejudiced. Observers in schools that have been desegregated for a long time usually remark that little mixing occurs in the lunchroom, let alone on the dance floor. The problem for schools in terms of human relations is not how to keep children of different races apart, but rather how to get them to relate to one another free of the fears and prejudices of their parents.

If a number of children in an elementary school class should object to holding a partner's hand in a game or square dance, it would be well to postpone such activities until the children have seen that you don't have such inhibitions and negative feelings. If only one child objects, it is wise to go on with the activity but allow that child to be an onlooker until ready to join in the fun.

People who promote desegregation in education do not intend to deny either teachers or children their right to personal preference and voluntary association. However, in schools where faculty desegregation has taken place, professional relationships across race lines have led some teachers into new and exciting friendships. They say

that for them life has been enriched and that they have become better people and better teachers. The case of children in integrated classrooms is similar. Because they have the chance to meet across race lines, they are more likely to lose the negative attitudes that would hinder their realistic preparation for living in a democratic society and in a multicultural world.

Integration requires opening school activities to all the pupils. If a child has been barred from any activity for lack of money or because she/he belongs to a minority group, now is the time to evaluate that activity in terms of democratic values and principles. Integration not only provides the opportunity for evaluating present activities but also creates the opportunity for new activities. School activities should be enriched, rather than limited, by student integration. Each ethnic and racial group can make a unique contribution to a school's activity. Whether diversity is shared to bring children together or is a divisive factor depends in large part on the teacher. Joining and holding office in service clubs and student councils, which are considered status activities, must be possible for all students regardless of race, color, creed, ethnic origin, sex, or social class. It is not usually difficult to convince the students that election to office should be based solely on qualifications.

Children tend to make a mascot of a single minority group child. The mascot role, like its opposite, the scapegoat role, is dehumanizing for the child as well as for the group. Try not to let either of those roles fall to a minority pupil in your classroom.

Do My Students Have Needs I Don't Know About?

First of all, be sure you see your minority children. The title of Ralph Ellison's book *Invisible Man* points to the traditional failure of Whites to actually perceive Blacks as people with the same needs, the same range of intellectual capabilities, and the same emotional drives as themselves. Invisibleness applies equally to our society's other minority groups. Look at, not over, your pupils; look into, not past, their eyes; look as deeply as you can into their minds and hearts.

Teachers have the responsibility not only to reward (or reprimand) their students but to respect them as persons. The first step in developing respect is to take an interest in their welfare. To guide you in better understanding, consider the following questions:

- Do the children have enough energy to last through the day and to furnish the power needed for mental activity? (Energy comes from food, is renewed in sleep, is diminished by illness, and is produced in the process of metabolism.)
- Do the children have enough food, adequate in nutrition? (Poor families have little meat, rely on starches and sweets. There often is not enough to go around. Busy parents may stuff their families with foods that are easy to prepare but not particularly wholesome. Americans as a nation are badly nourished because of their eating habits.)
- Do the children get enough rest? How many sleep in the same bed? In the same room? Is the home quiet and relaxed enough at night for sleep?
- How well are the children? Have injuries (possibly even skull fractures or cracks) been cared for? Are there any battered children in your class? Are any students anemic? Do they get headaches or

stomachaches? What is the condition of their teeth and eyes and ears? (Medical attention is costly and too often inaccessible, particularly to the poor. Also in poor families, the elderly sick, the incapacitated, and the mentally ill usually remain at home. This is often more comfortable for the patients, but it may cause children to worry.)

- Could children's apathy or lethargy or obesity be due to low metabolism? Does anyone know, or has anyone bothered to find out? (Many families do not know that clinics are available or what kind of service to ask for.)
- Are some children uncertain of their identity as Blacks, Chicanos, Asians, Appalachians, or First Americans? Ashamed of being poor? Of their clothing? Of parents having nothing for lunch? (Some children carry empty lunchboxes to school every day.)
- Are there children ashamed of an alcoholic mother? Of a father confined to prison? Of a parent who has been "in the papers" for dishonesty in office? Of being left alone on holidays? Of a parent who is never home? Of having no father or no mother at all? (You will need to know all the answers before you pay a home visit or even invite a parent to come to the school. Some children may be very proud of their parents but don't show it because they are afraid of rebuffs from their classmates.)
- Are there children who are depressed and hopeless because they have been told in one way or another since the first grade that they cannot read or that they will never learn to do arithmetic or that "this school is not the place for you" or that they are in the lowest group? (When put into the lowest classes, many pupils call themselves dumbbells or nuts, stay away more often, and do not take part in after-school activities.)
- Have you examined how your children view competition? There may be some great differences in how they see it. For some, competition is very important—but to compete requires a belief in one's ability to succeed as well as a certain amount of courage. For those who may lack this confidence, are they afraid that classmates will jeer if they lose or be resentful if they win? For other children, however, competition is not a value to strive for; cooperation is more important. In fact, the concept of competition is quite alien to some groups and home settings. No child should be placed in competition with one or more others unless she/he has the possibility of winning.
- Do all your children know how to follow directions when you read them at the beginning of a test? Are the directions too complicated? (Use directions everyone can understand; you might also give some clues to help children get started.)

- Are there students who individually say or think, "I can't"? (One must have a sense of adequacy even to try. Repeated experiences of failure convince children they are incapable of learning. You can give them the confidence they need if they are to learn.)
- Do you encourage your class to learn the histories of the different races in this country? Is the study of various races and ethnic cultures integrated into the entire curriculum? Or are non-European cultures discussed separately from the body of knowledge being imparted to the class?
- Do your pupils know what opportunities lie ahead for them, what hopes they can realistically have for the future? (You can call on successful people who know, to tell them, in the classroom or on field trips. Hearing firsthand is a most convincing experience.)
- Do you know what your students aspire to become? (You can help assess strengths and weaknesses in relation to aspirations. You must keep the doors of hope open while students work at developing their potentialities.)
- Do students have talents you haven't discovered? (In addition to recognizing their skills in reading and arithmetic, you could provide time for children to dance, sing, play their musical instruments, display muscular strength, perform tricks and magic, and show debating and dramatic skills.)
- Does the work in your classroom make sense to the students? Does it relate to the reality they know? Does it present the truth about their problems? (Children need to know the actuality of the present before concentrating on distant times and places. You can study emotions in literature and history (fear, anger, hatred, race prejudice, feelings of inferiority, hurt caused by rejection), discuss them in class, and even write about them from open-ended questions.)
- Do your children know their rights and responsibilities as students and as citizens?
- Do they know how to learn? (Some children believe that they do not learn because "the teacher is no good." They do not recognize that they also are responsible for learning. Maybe your plans of daily work should emphasize learning more, and teaching less.)
- Do any of your students have to do homework or classwork from books they cannot read? (If you assign lessons in a single text at your grade level, you will doom some of your pupils to failure.)
- Do students have any place at home to keep schoolbooks and supplies and to do schoolwork—a table to write on, a quiet corner, or their own rooms? Does anyone at home ever ask whether there's

any homework and whether it has been done? (If a child has none of these things, you can't scold or punish her/him for not doing homework. Maybe you shouldn't even assign homework. "After-school work" has replaced homework in many schools. Volunteer college students help elementary and high school students in special after-school study rooms.)

- Are some of your children confused because what is OK at home is wrong in school? (This might include using four-letter words or bad grammar; fighting; taking things without asking; leaving belongings scattered; distrusting authority, e.g., teachers and the police. Which school rules restrict activities that are harmful, and which forbid those that are harmless or that students need in order to survive on the outside?)

Until children have positive images of who they are and what they can accomplish, learning in the classroom will be severely restricted. The questions in this chapter show teachers how to go about understanding the human needs of their pupils. In this way, to bring out each child's full potential will be a more realistic goal for the teacher.

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The Teacher and Integration

Americans are coming into greater contact with other peoples. No longer number one producer in the global economic market, the United States now has to learn the ways of other countries if it is to compete successfully both at home and abroad. Furthermore, three-fourths of the world's population is not White, which means that White Americans have the dual task of developing positive attitudes toward different races and toward different nationalities. And in their domestic work worlds, individual Americans are having to re-evaluate former concepts of race. Increasingly it is becoming evident that the indulgence of believing in racial superiority is economically prohibitive and politically naive.

The need for positive racial attitudes at home and abroad gives integration new practical significance and places teachers in an important position of leadership because the initiative to make school integration work ultimately comes from them. Through their personal example, teachers can help set the tone for race relations in society at large. Just as an integrated faculty can be an example of wholesome interpersonal relations and have a positive effect on students' thinking on race, a faculty that fails to integrate its members can have a correspondingly pernicious effect. Race will remain a problem for Americans at home and abroad until teachers realistically prepare their students for American society by dealing with racism in the classroom. Teachers are influential, just as parents are to a greater degree, precisely because the flexibility needed in dealing with race is best fostered in youth, when children are of school age.

Teachers begin establishing good human relations by supplying role models for children. Faculties must have in various positions teachers of both sexes and all races, represented in proportion to

the community, so that no group of students can consider its school faculty as alien or hostile, intellectually and emotionally. There is something terribly wrong with a faculty when students see its members as institutional custodians rather than as teachers. When children know there are teachers to whom they can relate, classroom integration becomes a possibility (as does learning). Admittedly the authority in staffing lies with administrators, but unless teachers show students they are committed to a just and equitable education, integration will never occur.

As a way to describe the nature of integration, this book has presented specific day-to-day situations involving people from different backgrounds and has suggested the means to deal successfully with such situations. To isolate the concept of integration in a definition would be treating the issue on an abstract level, and that is not the purpose of this book. This book is to help teachers teach; hopefully, a teacher who comes to realize the need for classroom integration and who is acquainted with its day-to-day realities will also know what integration is. We have already said that it is not desegregation, but rather a way of life that largely enters through one's heart. Although personal in its source, integration extends outside itself, for its essence lies in pluralistic exchange. Simply put: groups learn from one another when integration is a reality in school life. That integration necessarily creates conflict among diverse peoples is a serious misconception. Integration is, rather, the opportunity for resilient, collective strength. There have been and are teachers who care what happens to every child. In their schools, integration is a way of life. What does that way look like? What is its ideal?

In the integrated classroom, children are not segregated by "ability" as no system of standardized testing has been shown to fairly assess aptitude or achievement. The distribution of children and work is all done naturally, without self-consciousness or noticeable effort. With course work as with extracurricular activities, ability is demonstrated through interest and performance. Teachers pay attention to clues that indicate prejudice, rejection, and exclusion on the basis of race and take whatever corrective measures are required. Most important for all of us as members of the same society is that children be encouraged to reach out to their fullest potential and, in this sense, succeed.

In the integrated classroom, children share their work, ask one another for help, and get it. They are encouraged equally to answer questions, put their work on the board, and display their talents and abilities. Race and sex does not enter in. This is the way they learn.

Because name-calling is not practiced in integrated classrooms, the children, hopefully, will not fight among themselves. However, they don't hesitate to remind their fellow classmates of the limits of behavior that they with their teachers set up together.

In the integrated classroom, the teacher does not have pets. The teacher's watchword is impartiality, which gives everyone the chance to learn. This does not mean that all the children are given the same work to do, in the same way, at the same time, from the same books. Quite the contrary. There is less instruction and more pupil-teacher planning, more sharing of responsibilities through committee or small group work, and more use of vicarious and direct-learning experiences as well as printed materials on a wide range of reading levels.

In the integrated classroom, children are not compared on the basis of achievement, pitted against one another in a merciless competition. They are not exalted for learning quickly or humiliated for learning slowly. Together and individually, they evaluate themselves both as leaders and followers. To set an example, teachers evaluate rather than mark each child's work, encouraging each to do better than she/he did before.

The teachers of integrated classes never put children "in their place," or use other methods of insulting minority children. Minority children are not looked up to or down upon; nor are they mascots or scapegoats. Race is not a target for pity or derision.

Children and teachers respect one another when integration exists, and some of them may even become friends across group lines. The climate is such that all persons can express their feelings without fear of reprisal; this is not a goody-goody place where hypocrisy may be developed.

In the integrated classroom, high-quality teaching and learning go on but the room will not often be silent nor will children always sit quietly in rows of desks or chairs. Uniformity and regimentation are not required. Teacher and students are relaxed and at first glance might seem to be disorderly in their behavior. But group and personal controls have emerged as a natural outcome and any necessary punishments for infractions are administered without personal bias.

In the integrated classroom, children learn democratic values. They know the principles of democracy and are developing the skills they need to practice the democratic processes. A democracy values individuals on the basis of personal worth without regard for differences of race, religion, ethnic origin, sex, social class, or ability. Each pupil is finding her/his own identity and making peace with self and others for generous, effective living in our world today.

This is a description of an ideal, but it is an ideal necessary to our survival. Because the United States includes many different cultures and races, its integrated schools have the opportunity to prepare students for the pluralistic world that surrounds them and which Americans must come to understand better. Americans can no longer discount the peoples and cultures outside North America and Europe. Social, economic, and political crises both at home and abroad oblige Americans to abandon racism and enter into closer, maturer contact with the rest of the world. Approached intelligently and without fear, integration will be the means to both cultural survival and educational excellence. In this the teacher has a definitive role to play.

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Appendixes

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Declaration of the Rights of the Child

Preamble

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have, in the Charter, reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, and in the dignity and worth of the human person, and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas the United Nations has, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status,

Whereas the child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection, before as well as after birth,

Whereas the need for such special safeguards has been stated in the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924, and recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the statutes of specialized agencies and international organizations concerned with the welfare of children,

Whereas mankind owes to the child the best it has to give,

Now therefore,

The General Assembly

Proclaims this Declaration of the Rights of the Child to the end that may have a happy childhood and enjoy for his own good and for the good of society the rights and freedoms herein set forth, and calls upon parents, upon men and women as individuals and upon voluntary organizations, local authorities and national governments to recognize these rights and strive for their observance by legislative and other measures progressively taken in accordance with the following principles:

Principle 1

The child shall enjoy all the rights set forth in this Declaration. All children, without any exception whatsoever, shall be entitled to these rights, without distinction or discrimination on account of race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, whether of himself or of his family.

Principle 2

The child shall enjoy special protection, and shall be given opportunities and facilities, by law and by other means, to enable him to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and

Adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its 841st plenary meeting held in New York on November 20, 1959.

normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity. In the enactment of laws for this purpose the best interests of the child shall be the paramount consideration.

Principle 3

The child shall be entitled from his birth to a name and a nationality.

Principle 4

The child shall enjoy the benefits of social security. He shall be entitled to grow and develop in health; to this end special care and protection shall be provided both to him and to his mother, including adequate pre-natal and post-natal care. The child shall have the right to adequate nutrition, housing, recreation and medical services.

Principle 5

The child who is physically, mentally or socially handicapped shall be given the special treatment, education and care required by his particular condition.

Principle 6

The child, for the full and harmonious development of his personality, needs love and understanding. He shall, wherever possible, grow up in the care and under the responsibility of his parents, and in any case in an atmosphere of affection and of moral and material security; a child of tender years shall not, save in exceptional circumstances, be separated from his mother. Society and the public authorities shall have the duty to extend particular care to children without a family and to those without adequate means of support. Payment of state and other assistance toward the maintenance of children of large families is desirable.

Principle 7

The child is entitled to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory, at least in the elementary stages. He shall be given an education which will promote his general culture, and enable him on a basis of equal opportunity to develop his abilities, his individual judgment, and his sense of moral and social responsibility, and to become a useful member of society.

The best interests of the child shall be the guiding principle of those responsible for his education and guidance; that responsibility lies in the first place with his parents.

The child shall have full opportunity for play and recreation, which should be directed to the same purposes as education; society and the public authorities shall endeavor to promote the enjoyment of this right.

Principle 8

The child shall in all circumstances be among the first to receive protection and relief.

Principle 9

The child shall be protected against all forms of neglect, cruelty and exploitation. He shall not be the subject of traffic, in any form.

The child shall not be admitted to employment before an appropriate minimum age; he shall in no case be caused or permitted to engage in any occupation or employment which would prejudice his health or education, or interfere with his physical, mental or moral development.

Principle 10

The child shall be protected from practices which may foster racial, religious and any other form of discrimination. He shall be brought up in a spirit of understanding, tolerance, friendship among peoples, peace and universal brotherhood and in full consciousness that his energy and talents should be devoted to the service of his fellow men.

Different Worlds

For the first time, during these post-Boxer years, I tried to find a few friends among people of my own race. I remember a sweet-faced, brown-eyed English girl whose father worked for the English Bible Society, a gentle creature with whom I could find no profound companionship, for she had lived the secluded, almost empty life of most white families, entirely unaware of the rich culture of the Chinese people. Her home was built upon a high and narrow hill which had once been an island in the restless Yangtse until the river receded from the city to gnaw away the opposite bank. I remember less of this English Agnes than I do of her English home and the entirely English garden which surrounded it. That bit of England created above the turmoil of a particularly poor and crowded Chinese slum taught me love for England, nevertheless. The father, dark-eyed and brown-bearded, always in rough tweeds, was as English as if he had never left his native land, and the mother, an impetuous Scotch woman, was untouched by any idea that she was surrounded by other human beings who were Chinese. In spite of my knowing that this was entirely wrong of them, I enjoyed the family.

* * * *

Each of them enchanted me in his own way and nothing was more delightful than to sit down at tea with them and to enjoy real English cheer on a chill winter's afternoon, when the houses of my Chinese friends were damp and cold. For however reprehensible they were, I loved my English friends and never more than when we gathered in a little dining room stuffed with ugly English furniture, secondhand from Shanghai shops, and had an English tea.

And this good English tea was prepared in a dark little English kitchen by a thin Chinese man of years, who survived the harrying scolding of his foreign mistress and consoled himself by cheating her richly when he shopped, and learning meanwhile to cook so well that when the white folk departed, forever so far as he was concerned, he found a job as head cook for a famous war lord who had a fancy for foreign food. And we were served at table by a table boy who afterwards burned down the house in which we sat. But how were we to know such effects, when we did not know the causes that we made?

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Statement on Race and Racial Prejudice

Paris, September 1967

1. 'All men are born free and equal both in dignity and in rights.' This universally proclaimed democratic principle stands in jeopardy wherever political, economic, social and cultural inequalities affect human group relations. A particularly striking obstacle to the recognition of equal dignity for all is racism. Racism continues to haunt the world. As a major social phenomenon it requires the attention of all students of the sciences of man.

2. Racism stultifies the development of those who suffer from it, perverts those who apply it, divides nations within themselves, aggravates international conflict and threatens world peace.

3. Conference of experts meeting in Paris in September 1967, agreed that racist doctrines lack any scientific basis whatsoever. It reaffirmed the propositions adopted by the international meeting held in Moscow in 1964 which was called to re-examine the biological aspects of the statements on race and racial differences issued in 1950 and 1951. In particular, it draws attention to the following points:

(a) All men living today belong to the same species and descend from the same stock.

(b) The division of the human species into 'races' is partly conventional and partly arbitrary and does not imply any hierarchy whatsoever. Many anthropologists stress the importance of human variation, but believe that 'racial' divisions have limited scientific interest and may even carry the risk of inviting abusive generalization.

(c) Current biological knowledge does not permit us to impute cultural achievements to differences in genetic potential. Differences in the achievements of different peoples should be attributed solely to their cultural history. The peoples of the world today appear to possess equal biological potentialities for attaining any level of civilization. Racism grossly falsifies the knowledge of human biology.

4. The human problems arising from so-called 'race' relations are social in origin rather than biological. A basic problem is racism, namely, antisocial beliefs and acts which are based on the fallacy that discriminatory intergroup relations are justifiable on biological grounds.

5. Groups commonly evaluate their characteristics in comparison with others. Racism falsely claims that there is a scientific basis for arranging groups hierarchically in terms of psychological and cultural characteristics that are immutable and innate. In this way it seeks to make existing differences appear inviolable as a means of permanently maintaining current relationships between groups.

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6. Faced with the exposure of the falsity of its biological doctrines, racism finds ever new stratagems for justifying the inequality of groups. It points to the fact that groups do not intermarry, a fact which follows, in part, from the divisions created by racism. It uses this fact to argue the thesis that this absence of intermarriage derives from differences of a biological order. Whenever it fails in its attempts to prove that the source of group differences lies in the biological field, it falls back upon justifications in terms of divine purpose, cultural differences, disparity of educational standards or some other doctrine which would serve to mask its continued racist beliefs. Thus, many of the problems which racism presents in the world today do not arise merely from its open manifestations, but from the activities of those who discriminate on racial grounds but are unwilling to acknowledge it.

7. Racism has historical roots. It has not been a universal phenomenon. Many contemporary societies and cultures show little trace of it. It was not evident for long periods in world history. Many forms of racism have arisen out of the conditions of conquest, out of the justification of Negro slavery and its aftermath of racial inequality in the West, and out of the colonial relationship. Among other examples is that of anti-Semitism, which has played a particular role in history, with Jews being the chosen scapegoat to take the blame for problems and crises met by many societies.

8. The anti-colonial revolution of the twentieth century has opened up new possibilities for eliminating the scourge of racism. In some formerly dependent countries, people formerly classified as inferior have for the first time obtained full political rights. Moreover, the participation of formerly dependent nations in international organizations in terms of equality has done much to undermine racism.

9. There are, however, some instances in certain societies in which groups, victims of racialistic practices, have themselves applied doctrines with racist implications in their struggle for freedom. Such an attitude is a secondary phenomenon, a reaction stemming from men's search for an identity which prior racist theory and racialistic practices denied them. None the less, the new forms of racist ideology, resulting from this prior exploitation, have no justification in biology. They are a product of a political struggle and have no scientific foundation.

10. In order to undermine racism it is not sufficient that biologists should expose its fallacies. It is also necessary that psychologists and sociologists should demonstrate its causes. The social structure is always an important factor. However, within the same social structure, there may be great individual variation in racialistic behavior, associated with the personality of the individuals and their personal circumstances.

11. The committee of experts agreed on the following conclusions about the social causes of race prejudice:

(a) Social and economic causes of racial prejudice are particularly observed in settler societies wherein are found conditions of great disparity of power and property, in certain urban areas where there have emerged ghettoes in which individuals are deprived of equal access to employ-

ment, housing, political participation, education, and the administration of justice, and in many societies where social and economic tasks which are deemed to be contrary to the ethics or beneath the dignity of its members are assigned to a group of different origins who are derided, blamed, and punished for taking on these tasks.

(b) Individuals with certain personality troubles may be particularly inclined to adopt and manifest racial prejudices. Small groups, associations, and social movements of a certain kind sometimes preserve and transmit racial prejudices. The foundations of the prejudices lie, however, in the economic and social system of a society.

(c) Racism tends to be cumulative. Discrimination deprives a group of equal treatment and presents that group as a problem. The group then tends to be blamed for its own condition, leading to further elaboration of racist theory.

12. The major techniques for coping with racism involve changing those social situations which give rise to prejudice, preventing the prejudiced from acting in accordance with their beliefs, and combating the false beliefs themselves.

13. It is recognized that the basically important changes in the social structure that may lead to the elimination of racial prejudice may require decisions of a political nature. It is also recognized, however, that certain agencies of enlightenment, such as education and other means of social and economic advancement, mass media, and law can be immediately and effectively mobilized for the elimination of racial prejudice.

14. The school and other instruments for social and economic progress can be one of the most effective agents for the achievement of broadened understanding and the fulfillment of the potentialities of man. They can equally much be used for the perpetuation of discrimination and inequality. It is therefore essential that the resources for education and for social and economic action of all nations be employed in two ways:

(a) The schools should ensure that their curricula contain scientific understandings about race and human unity, and that invidious distinctions about peoples are not made in texts and classrooms.

(b) (i) Because the skills to be gained in formal and vocational education become increasingly important with the processes of technological development, the resources of the schools and other resources should be fully available to all parts of the population with neither restriction nor discrimination;

(ii) Furthermore, in cases where, for historical reasons, certain groups have a lower average education and economic standing, it is the responsibility of the society to take corrective measures. These measures should ensure, so far as possible, that the limitations of poor environments are not passed on to the children.

In view of the importance of teachers in any educational programme, special attention should be given to their training. Teachers should be made conscious of the degree to which they reflect the prejudices which may be

current in their society. They should be encouraged to avoid these prejudices.

15. Governmental units and other organizations concerned should give special attention to improving the housing situations and work opportunities available to victims of racism. This will not only counteract the effects of racism, but in itself can be a positive way of modifying racist attitudes and behaviour.

16. The media of mass communication are increasingly important in promoting knowledge and understanding, but their exact potentiality is not fully known. Continuing research into the social utilization of the media is needed in order to assess their influence in relation to formation of attitudes and behavioural patterns in the field of race prejudice and race discrimination. Because the mass media reach vast numbers of people at different educational and social levels, their role in encouraging or combating race prejudice can be crucial. Those who work in these media should maintain a positive approach to the promotion of understanding between groups and populations. Representation of peoples in stereotypes and holding them up to ridicule should be avoided. Attachment to news reports of racial designations which are not germane to the accounts should also be avoided.

17. Law is among the most important means of ensuring equality between individuals and one of the most effective means of fighting racism.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 10 December 1948 and the related international agreements and conventions which have taken effect subsequently can contribute effectively, on both the national and international level, to the fight against any injustice of racist origin.

National legislation is a means of effectively outlawing racist propaganda and acts based upon racial discrimination. Moreover, the policy expressed in such legislation must bind not only the courts and judges charged with its enforcement, but also all agencies of government of whatever level or whatever character.

It is not claimed that legislation can immediately eliminate prejudice. Nevertheless, by being a means of protecting the victims of acts based upon prejudice, and by setting a moral example backed by the dignity of the courts, it can, in the long run, even change attitudes.

18. Ethnic groups which represent the object of some form of discrimination are sometimes accepted and tolerated by dominating groups at the cost of their having to abandon completely their cultural identity. It should be stressed that the effort of these ethnic groups to preserve their cultural values should be encouraged. They will thus be better able to contribute to the enrichment of the total culture of humanity.

19. Racial prejudice and discrimination in the world today arise from historical and social phenomena and falsely claim the sanction of science. It is, therefore, the responsibility of all biological and social scientists, philosophers, and others working in related disciplines, to ensure that the results of their research are not misused by those who wish to propagate racial prejudice and encourage discrimination.

This statement was prepared by a committee of experts on race and racial prejudice which met at Unesco House, Paris, from 18 to 26 September 1967. The following experts took part in the committee's work:

Professor Muddathir Abdel Rahim, University of Khartoum (Sudan);
Professor Georges Balandier, Université de Paris (France);
Professor Celio de Oliveira Borja, University of Guanabara (Brazil);
Professor Lloyd Braithwaite, University of the West Indies (Jamaica);
Professor Leonard Broom, University of Texas (United States);
Professor G. F. Debetz, Institute of Ethnography, Moscow (U.S.S.R.);
Professor J. Djordjevic, University of Belgrade (Yugoslavia);
Dean Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Howard University (United States);
Dr. Dharam P. Ghai, University College (Kenya);
Professor Louis Guttman, Hebrew University (Israel);
Professor Jean Hiernaux, Université Libre de Bruxelles (Belgium);
Professor A. Kloskowska, University of Lodz (Poland);
Judge Kéba M'Baye, President of the Supreme Court (Senegal);
Professor John Rex, University of Durham (United Kingdom);
Professor Mariano R. Solveira, University of Havana (Cuba);
Professor Hisashi Suzuki, University of Tokyo (Japan);
Dr. Romila Thapar, University of Delhi (India);
Professor C. H. Waddington, University of Edinburgh (United Kingdom).

Another Viewpoint

. . . we need institutions that can give us the education that's necessary to cope with our environment. Recognize that this decadent system is part of our environment. Racism is the rattlesnake in our environment. Education is supposed to teach you to copy with your environment. To deal with the problem of your environment. We need an education that will teach us to cope with white supremacy, white racism, and with the murderous institutions of this society. We would want you to endorse that, to help us do that, to participate in that. And to give whatever you can, if it means to give instruction, if it means to build the buildings. We feel that it's necessary to create situations where people can relate to each other, unite with each other and defend each other against all of the evils that threaten everybody. And that's not an obnoxious goal. It's only obnoxious to those who cling so much to an ideology called integration that in order to hold onto it they are willing to gloss over all the problems remaining. But we say that we are going to have to do some disentangling, because what integration amounts to is decentralized segregation. That's all it is.

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Social Aspects of the Race Question

Michael Banton

Race is a relatively new idea. It emerged in the nineteenth century as the evidence for evolution began to accumulate. Prior to this time Europeans generally had believed that the book of Genesis furnished a historical account of man's creation and the peopling of the world. Race was an exciting idea. Scientists thought it offered a key to human history, one that would explain why the peoples of the world differed so much in their civilizations and in their technological achievements. They were wrong, but it took some years before the mistake became apparent. In the meantime the error was seized upon, magnified, and publicized, because it was convenient from the standpoint of those who held power in the Europe of that day. Europeans were flattered when they were told that they were superior to the peoples of the technologically backward countries. The possibility of a biological origin of these differences was therefore entertained more sympathetically than the evidence warranted.

Doctrines of racial distinction and superiority cast a dark shadow over the history of the world in the first half of the twentieth century. They played an important part in imperialist arrogance. Then they were utilized for political ends within nations, most notoriously in Nazi Germany. Six million Jews were sacrificed to beliefs about race which had no scientific validity. After the Second World War, Unesco naturally identified racist doctrines as a major source of world tension. Unesco was the international institution best placed to collect and diffuse scientific findings about the nature of race and the significance of differences between human groups.

A team of experts was asked to explain in simple terms the outcome of scientific inquiry into the nature of racial differences, and to indicate what were the implications for social relations. They were quite clear that the central issue is that of equality. Ideas about race had been built into a social myth which had been used to deny equality to peoples of another race. The scientific facts, they said, contradicted this myth. But, they insisted 'it must be asserted with the utmost emphasis that equality as an ethical principle in no way depends upon the assertion that human beings are in fact equal in endowment'. Men are not equal in talents, this is a fact. But it is generally believed that the weak deserve sympathy. The unfeeling treatment of the unfortunate is held to be inhuman. Therefore, so people say, all men must be showed respect: they are equal in dignity and rights. This is a moral precept. It is independent from statements about actual equality or inequality. Nor does it lose any of its moral force because it is so often ignored by men.

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In combating racial discrimination, the first essential is a correct diagnosis. The importance of this is not always appreciated because of the moral indignation which discrimination evokes and the reluctance of the activists to accept any delay. But mistakes are sometimes made which cause anti-discrimination campaigns to be fruitless or even to exacerbate the situation. For example, some groups thought that if, by conducting a survey, they were to expose the prevalence of discrimination, this would shock people into taking or supporting remedial action. Frequently it has the reverse effect. Those who discriminate derive support from learning that so many others do so too. The authorities may take fright and decline to act against what they see as a powerful section of the population. Another mistake can be seen when members of a disadvantaged minority lose patience with the majority and accuse all its members of being racist or prejudiced. This tactic is sometimes seen as justified by those who believe that history proceeds dialectically, oppositions being intensified before they are overcome, but there is little evidence to suggest that it is ever successful in reducing discrimination.

Diagnoses can be more reliable when they relate to relatively small units or to specific situations. Nevertheless there are occasions when it is useful to attempt a diagnosis of the world situation. The 1967 statement [See p. 67.] is in part such an attempt. In this connection it is important to note that these experts agreed that there is no single cause of racial hostility. There are various causes and the relative importance of one cause or the other varies according to the situation in question. The statement declares that the social and economic causes of prejudice are easily seen in certain circumstances and follows this with a short list. The terms employed in this list are very general, almost as embracing as the remark that among the causes 'the social structure is always an important factor.' This is so general as to be platitudinous! The evidence itself is complex and incomplete. Moreover, the concepts presently employed by social scientists are much less precise, and less generally agreed, than those used by the biologists. It would therefore have been difficult for this committee to make any comprehensive statement about the social causes of prejudice that could be understood by the general public or could command as much scientific authority as the 1964 statement on the biological aspects. In the same paragraph (para. 11) the 1967 statement goes on to refer to personality troubles as a source of prejudice. This, too, is a complicated matter. The statement that the foundations of prejudice lie in the economic and social system is open to differing interpretations because much depends on the meaning attached to the word 'foundations.' It would be unfortunate if such a claim were taken to imply that it is unnecessary to conduct further research into the psychological origins of prejudice. Important questions remain to be answered concerning the interrelation between the psychological factors on the one hand, and the economic and social system on the other. There is some experimental evidence to suggest that any kind of distinction that causes people to think in terms of 'people like me' and 'other people' attracts to it emotional meanings and results in the expression

of preferences which are not justified by the nature of the difference. When a minority is outwardly distinguished —as by skin colour—the greater the difference the stronger are the emotional associations. Such psychological factors are important in the generation of prejudice and appear to be independent of particular economic and social systems.

The 1967 statement stresses the social and economic factors underlying the denial of racial equality but it devotes more attention to racism. It states that racism is 'a particularly striking obstacle to recognition of equal dignity for all' (para. 1). In view of the importance the committee attached to this, it is unfortunate that they did not hammer out a clearer definition of what they meant by the key term. By racism they apparently meant 'anti-social beliefs and acts which are based on the fallacy that discriminatory inter-group relations are justifiable on biological grounds' (para. 4). There are many features of this as a definition which require examination: the use of evaluative terms like 'anti-social' and 'fallacy' in a definition of this kind; the lumping together of beliefs and acts; the criteria for deciding whether an action is based on a fallacy, etc. If social scientists are to make a distinctive contribution to popular understanding in this emotionally and intellectually confused area of discussion, it is important that their diagnoses be clear and systematic. It would be unfortunate if a reader were to get the impression that expert opinion amongst social scientists is agreed that the root cause of racial tension is a sort of virus called racism; one which 'finds ever new stratagems for justifying the inequality of groups' as if it had a life of its own. Racism is not an organism. It is a word used to classify certain doctrines and, by extension, beliefs and actions associated with such doctrines. There is a danger that preoccupation with racism might cause people to neglect other factors which impede the achievement of equal rights.

* * * *

There is also evidence accumulating which indicates that the expression of prejudice may not be a hostility directed against the group which serves as an ostensible target, so much as an affirmation of solidarity with the group to which the speaker belongs. In the industrial cities of Europe and North America many men rarely come into meaningful contact with people of a background very different from their own. They live in districts inhabited by people of similar income and ancestry. On the way to work and at the workplace they meet strangers for the most part only in well-defined relationships. Their prejudices are expressed most frequently in situations where no minority persons are present. The way men behave towards members of other groups when they do meet them, may not be in accordance with the opinions they have expressed on other occasions. This evidence shows that the significance race has for an individual will depend upon his social position and his actions will be related to the situations in which contact occurs. Established patterns of social relations are now changing rapidly so this will affect the ways in which prejudice is generated and expressed. People now have greater insight into the way their behaviour is influenced by psychological and social pressures. The

changing relations between belief, statements made to onlookers, and behaviour in social situations, underlie the complexity of prejudice as a social phenomenon.

The declaration of 1967 differs from that of 1950 in another respect which is worthy of note. The earlier committee maintained that human groups distinguished by racial traits would be better referred to as 'ethnic groups' rather than 'races' (para. 6). Social scientists are in fact deeply divided about whether it is proper to use the terminology of race when designating nationalities or minorities. Some believe that its use only perpetuates the confusion of social with biological categories. Some speak of 'social race,' though this expression may be no improvement. The 1967 document chooses to say nothing of this division of opinion, presumably for fear that it might weaken the statement's impact. But by interpreting their task in this way, the signatories may have distracted some readers' attention from the important similarities between the situations of racial minorities and of other minorities, religious, linguistic, and economic. There are many people in industrial societies who suffer from physical or social disablement and are trapped by their handicaps just as are members of racial minorities. The study of how they come to be trapped reveals important lessons about how the social and economic system works in some of its less public aspects. The mechanisms which operate against non-racial minorities also operate against racial minorities. They need to be studied because in some circumstances they may prove more important than the special disabilities which sometimes attach to distinctive racial characteristics.

An important feature of many situations where people are distinguished by racial characteristics is the cumulative nature of such distinctions. As the 1967 statement notes, discrimination deprives a group of equal treatment. Members of that group are then unable to perform as well as others so they are more likely to be despised, called inferior, or made the objects of prejudice. Cumulation can operate in other ways, bringing unanticipated and undesired consequences. So much depends upon the initial categorization of strangers. Europeans or white Americans living in districts where coloured people are also starting to reside, are apt to complain 'soon there will be more black people than white.' This seems to them a logical way of seeing things, partly because they identify whiteness with a wide range of cultural characteristics shared by the local population and blackness with other cultural characteristics shared by the newcomers. But in a new environment customs change and cultural differences are reduced. The important question from most standpoints is not whether there will be more black people than white, but more good citizens than bad.

Whenever a society has adopted colour as a more important principle for social classification than citizenship, unwelcome consequences have followed. It has meant that the differences between racial groups have continually been emphasized and differences within these groups have been minimized. Children of mixed ancestry have been classified in the lower category; they have been hated because their very existence proved that

the maintenance of a colour line was a social convention. Once people start assuming that a racial classification is 'natural' other social arrangements are fashioned so as to fit with the racial one. Some people (on both sides of the line) acquire a vested interest in the prevailing order. Those who suffer from discrimination feel loyalty to others who also suffer, and defend them in ways that anger members of the majority. Tension builds up. In many countries, on widely separated continents, racial conflict has been occurring on an ever greater scale. The lines of division have become ever sharper. Now racial opposition can sometimes be discerned on the international level.

Logically, the point at which to challenge the increasing scale of conflict is at the first step. The importance of other ways of classifying people—like good citizens and bad—needs to be emphasized whenever there is opportunity. But in many parts of the world such advice comes too late. Important social groups are identified by racial signs. Community structures have been built on the basis of such divisions. Every available means of diminishing prejudice and discrimination therefore needs to be used. The 1967 statement mentions the most important. In some places the first priority may be to try and implement what they say about education; elsewhere it may be more important to tackle problems of local administration or national legislation. To argue in the abstract about the relative merits of one technique compared with another, or about the chances of ever completely eliminating prejudice, is to ignore the main issue. The question of equality is an ethical and political one. The contribution of the social sciences is essential to a correct diagnosis and to the evaluation of the merits and demerits of different policies; but it would be dishonest to make these sciences take the responsibility for political decisions or to argue that serious governmental action must wait until social scientists have a complete understanding of prejudice.

Much of the confusion among the educated public about the biological aspects of the race question has in recent years been laid to rest, but pseudo-scientific racism has not been eliminated. Many dangerous misapprehensions exist and could be magnified. Better biology teaching is needed. The only safeguard against those who take scientific findings about inheritance out of their context and seek to use them for political ends, is a better understanding throughout the population of biological principles. This is needed as a safeguard against doctrines of class superiority as well as of racial superiority.

The social aspects of the race question will almost certainly remain problematical for many years. They are intricately involved with the general problem of inequality in human societies. Changes in technology will give rise to new forms of inequality, to new problems which will require new solutions. Experience shows that it is no use ignoring the social significance ascribed to race in the hope that people will stop thinking in racial terms and therefore the problem will solve itself gradually. Experience shows that to regulate conflicts of this kind governmental and institutional intervention is essential. The longer it is postponed, the more it costs.

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Resource Organizations

Afro-American Institute
School Services Division
866 United Nations Plaza
New York, New York 10017

American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

American Friends Service Committee
112 South Sixteenth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

Americans for Indian Opportunity
1820 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Anti-Defamation League of
B'Nai B'Rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Chinese for Affirmative Action
250 Columbus Avenue
San Francisco, California 94133

Citizens' Advisory Council on the
Status of Women
Department of Labor Building,
Room 1336
Washington, D.C. 20210

Congressional Black Caucus
1518 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Council of the Southern Mountains,
Inc.
Drawer N
Clintwood, Virginia 24228

Council on Interracial Books for
Children
c/o Foundation for Change, Inc.
1814 Broadway
New York, New York 10023

Japanese American Citizens League
1634 Post Street
San Francisco, California 94115

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
1790 Broadway
New York, New York 10019

National Association of Human Rights Workers
142 Sylvan Avenue
New Haven, Connecticut 06519

National Indian Education Association
2675 University Avenue, Suite 100
Saint Paul, Minnesota 55114

National Mexican American Anti-Defamation Committee
1605 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

National Organization for Women
28 East Fifty-sixth Street
New York, New York 10022

National Urban Coalition
2100 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

Raza Association for Spanish Surnamed Americans
400 First Street, N.W., Suite 706
Washington, D.C. 20001

Southwest Council of LaRaza
1025 Fifteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

UNICEF
Office of Information
331 East Thirty-eighth Street
New York, New York 10016

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425